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THEOPHRASTUS *περὶ Νόμων.*

"Omnium fere civitatum non Graeciae solum, sed etiam barbariae — a Theophrasto leges etiam cognovimus." Cic. de fin. bon. et mal. v. 11; see IV. 5, et de leg. III. 14.

1. JURA constitui oportet, ut dixit Theophrastus, in his quae *ἐπὶ τὸ πλεῖστον* accidunt, non quae *ἐκ παραλόγου*. Dig. I. 3. 3.

2. *Τὸ γὰρ ἅπαξ ἢ δίς*, ut ait Theophrastus, *παραβαίνουσιν οἱ νομοθέται*. Dig. I. 3. 6.

3. *Ὀλίγων οἱ ἀγαθοὶ νόμων δέονται· οὐ γὰρ τὰ πράγματα πρὸς τοὺς νόμους, ἀλλὰ οἱ νόμοι πρὸς τὰ πράγματα τίθενται.* Stob. floril. 37, 21.

4. *Θεσμοθέται·—ὅτι δὲ τοὺς νόμους οὗτοι διώρθουν κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν ἕκαστον εἴρηκεν Αἰσχίνης τε ἐν τῷ κατὰ Κτησιφῶντος καὶ Θ. ἐν γ' Νόμων.* Harp. 153, 3 (Dindorf.).

5. *Ἀρδηττός· — ἐν τούτῳ, φασὶ, δημοσίᾳ πάντες ὤμνυον Ἀθηναῖοι τὸν ὅρκον τὸν ἡλιαστικόν.—Θ. δ' ἐν τοῖς περὶ Νόμων δηλοῖ ὡς κατελέλυτο τὸ ἔθος τοῦτο.* Harp. 57, 5; Suid. s. v. *Ἀρδήττης*; Bekk. Anecd. 443, 26.

6. *Εἰσαγγελία·—Θ. δὲ ἐν τῷ τετάρτῳ περὶ Νόμων φησὶ γενέσθαι, ἐάν τις καταλύῃ τὸν δῆμον ἢ ῥήτωρ μὴ τὰ ἄριστα συμ-*

βουλεύῃ χρήματα λαμβάνων· ἢ ἐάν τις προδιδῷ χωρίον[1] ἢ ναῦς ἢ πεζὴν στρατιάν· ἢ ἐάν τις εἰς τοὺς πολεμίους ἀφικνῆται[2] ἄνευ τοῦ πεμφθῆναι παρὰ τοῦ δήμου ἢ μετοικῇ[3] παρ' αὐτοῖς ἢ στρατεύηται μετ' αὐτῶν δῶρα λαμβάνων[4]. Lex. Rhet. Cantab. 667, 13. Ἐγίνοντο δὲ εἰσαγγελίαι καὶ κατὰ τῶν καταλυόντων τὸν δῆμον ἢ ῥητόρων μὴ τὰ ἄριστα τῷ δήμῳ λεγόντων, ἢ πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους ἄνευ τοῦ πεμφθῆναι ἀπελθόντων, ἢ προδόντων φρούριον ἢ στρατιὰν ἢ ναῦς ὡς Θ. ἐν τῷ περὶ Νόμων. Poll. VIII. 52.

7. Καταχειροτονία·—διεξῆλθε δὲ περὶ τῆς καταχειροτονίας καὶ Θ. ἐν δ' Νόμων. Harp. 172, 5; Suid. s. v. καταχειροτονία.

8. Πρόστιμον ἔκειτο τῷ μὴ μεταλαβόντι τὸ πέμπτον μέρος τῶν ψήφων, ὡς Θ. ἐν πέμπτῳ περὶ Νόμων· ἐν δὲ τοῖς δημοσίοις ἀγῶσιν ἐζημιοῦντο πρῶτον πρὸς ἀτιμίαν ὥστε μὴ ἐξεῖναι μήτε γράψασθαι παρανόμων, μήτε φαίνειν, μήτε ὑφηγεῖσθαι· ἔπειτα δὲ πρὸς χρήματα, ὥστε χιλίας ὀφλισκάνειν (see Schol. on Dem. XXII. 3, and Harp. 102, 10), καὶ ἐὰν γραψάμενος μὴ ἐπεξέλθῃ ὁμοίως ἦν. περὶ δὲ τῆς εἰσαγγελίας ἐὰν μὴ μεταλάβῃ τὸ πέμπτον μέρος τῶν ψήφων, οἱ δικασταὶ τιμῶσι. Lex. Rhet. Cant. 677, 8 (Meier).

Καίτοι γε ὁ Θ. τοὺς μὲν ἄλλας γραφὰς γραψαμένους χιλίας τ' ὀφλισκάνειν, εἰ τοῦ πέμπτου τῶν ψήφων μὴ μεταλάβοιεν, καὶ προσατιμοῦσθαι, τοὺς δὲ εἰσαγγέλλοντας μὴ ἀτιμοῦσθαι μέν, ὀφλεῖν δὲ τὰς χιλίας. Poll. VIII. 53.

9. Εἰ ἑάλωσαν ἤτοι πάντες οἱ μάρτυρες ψευδομαρτυριῶν ἢ ὑπερημίσεις, ἐκρίνετο ἄνωθεν ἡ δίκη. οὐκ ἐπὶ πάντων δὲ τῶν ἀγώνων ἐγίγνοντο ἀνάδικοι οἱ κρίσεις, ἀλλ' ὡς φησι Θ. ἐν ζ' Νόμων, ἐπὶ μόνης ξενίας καὶ ψευδομαρτυριῶν καὶ κλήρων. Schol. on Plat. Legg. XI. 937 D.

10. Σκαφηφόροι·—Δημήτριος γοῦν ἐν γ' Νομοθεσίας φησὶν

[1] χωρίον MS., φρούριον Meier (in his edition of the Lex., Halle 1844), see Lys. XXXI. 26.

[2] ἀφικνεῖται MS., ἀφικνῆται ἄνευ τοῦ πεμφθῆναι παρὰ τοῦ δήμου Meier, cp. Poll. whence the addition is taken.

[3] νικοίῃ MS. and Nauck (Lex Vindob. p. 338), οἰκοίῃ Dobree, μισθοφορῇ Meier, ἐνοικῇ Schneidewin (Hyp. orat. duae p. 42), Dareste, μετοικῇ Lugebil, whom I follow; see Isocr. XVI. 12, XIX. 23; Lys. XXXI. 9; Lycurg. I. 21. 145.

[4] ἢ δῶρα λαμβάνῃ MS. Meier adds ἐπὶ βλάβῃ τοῦ δήμου from Dem. XXI. 113; but the law in which these words occur is spurious.

ὅτι προσέταττεν ὁ νόμος τοῖς μετοίκοις ἐν ταῖς πομπαῖς αὐτοὺς μὲν σκάφας φέρειν, τὰς δὲ θυγατέρας αὐτῶν ὑδρεῖα καὶ σκιάδια. διείλεκται περὶ τούτων καὶ Θ. ἐν ι΄ Νόμων. Harp. 275, 6.

11. Εἰ μέντοι καὶ ἐν βιβλίῳ τινὶ τοὔνομα τὴν ἀπαρτίαν εὑρεῖν ἐθέλοις—εὑρήσεις—καὶ παρὰ Θ. ἐν τῷ δεκάτῳ Νόμων. Poll. x. 19.

12. Συστομώτερον σκάφης·—Θ. γὰρ ἐν τῷ περὶ Νόμων εἰρῆσθαι ἀπὸ τοῦ τοὺς μετοίκους Ἀθήνησιν ἐν ταῖς δημοτελέσι πομπαῖς σκάφας φέροντας πομπεύειν· καὶ ὁπότε δὲ ἐβούλοντο μέτοικον δηλῶσαι ἢ σκάφην ἔλεγον ἢ σκαφηφόρον. διὰ δὲ τὸ ἀπαρρησίαστον εἶναι συστομώτερον ποιήσειν ἀπειλεῖν σκάφης. Phot. lex. 558, 9; Suid. s. v.

13. Ὅτι δὲ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ὧν ἔπραττον οἱ μέτοικοι ἄφεσιν εἶχον οἱ ἰσοτελεῖς Θ. εἴρηκεν ἐν ιά τῶν Νόμων. οὗτος δέ φησιν ὡς ἐνιαχοῦ καὶ πόλεσιν ὅλαις ἐψηφίζοντο τὴν ἰσοτέλειαν Ἀθηναῖοι, ὥσπερ Ὀλυνθίοις τε καὶ Θηβαίοις. Harp. 163, 5; Phot. 115, 11.

14. Ὅτι οἱ ἁλόντες ἐπ' ἀκουσίῳ φόνῳ ἐξουσίαν εἶχον εἰς διοίκησιν τῶν ἰδίων Δημοσθένης ἐν τῷ κατ' Ἀριστοκράτους· (§§ 44, 45) ὑποσημαίνει καὶ Θ. ἐν τῷ ιγ΄ τῶν Νόμων δηλοῖ. Harp. 228, 1; Phot. 354, 26.

15. Ἐφορία· ἡ ἐπὶ τῶν ὅρων γινομένη προαγόρευσις, ὡς Δημοσθένης διδάσκει ἐν τῷ κατ' Ἀριστοκράτους (§ 38) καὶ Θ. ἐν ιγ΄ Νόμων. Harp. 143, 7.

16. Φαρμακῶντα· — ἔστι δὲ φαρμακῶν ὁ ὑπὸ φαρμάκων βεβλαμμένος, ὡς καὶ Θ. ἐν ιέ Νόμων ὑποσημαίνει. Harp. 299, 4; Phot. 640, 5; Etym. M. 788, 7; Suid. s. v. *φάρμακος* gl. 2.

17. Ἐν Φρεαττοῖ—ὠνομάσθαι δ' ἔοικε τὸ δικαστήριον ἀπό τινος Φρεάττου ἥρωος, καθά φησι Θ. ἐν ις΄ τῶν Νόμων. Harp. 115, 19; Etym. M. 344, 25; Suid. s. v. Ἐμφρεάτοι.

18. Ὑποφόνια· τὰ ἐπὶ φόνῳ διδόμενα χρήματα τοῖς οἰκείοις τοῦ φονευθέντος, ἵνα μὴ ἐπεξίωσιν·—Θ. Νόμων ις΄. Harp. 297, 9; Phot. 632, 17, Suid. s. v.

19. Φησὶ Θ. ἐν τῷ περὶ Νόμων Ὕβρεως καὶ Ἀναιδείας παρὰ τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις εἶναι βωμούς. Zenob. proverb. 4, 36.

20. Οὐσίας δίκη·—διείλεκται δὲ περὶ τῆς δίκης καὶ Θ. ἐν ιη΄ περὶ Νόμων. Harp. 229, 15.

21. Οἳ μὲν οὖν ὑπὸ κήρυκος κελεύουσι πωλεῖν καὶ προκηρύτ-

τειν ἐκ πλειόνων ἡμερῶν. οἱ δὲ παρ' ἀρχῇ τινι, καθάπερ καὶ Πιττακὸς παρὰ βασιλεῦσι καὶ πρυτάνει. ἔνιοι δὲ προγράφειν παρὰ τῇ ἀρχῇ πρὸ ἡμερῶν μὴ ἔλαττον ἢ ἑξήκοντα, καθάπερ Ἀθήνησι, καὶ τὸν πριάμενον ἑκατοστὴν τιθέναι τῆς τιμῆς, ὅπως διαμφισβητῆσαί τε ἐξῇ καὶ διαμαρτύρασθαι τῷ βουλομένῳ, καὶ ὁ δικαίως ἐωνημένος φανερὸς ᾖ τῷ τέλει. παρὰ δὲ τισὶ προκηρύττειν κελεύουσι πρὸ τοῦ κατακυρωθῆναι πένθ' ἡμέρας συνεχῶς, εἴ τις ἐνίσταται ἢ ἀντιποιεῖται τοῦ κτήματος ἢ τῆς οἰκίας· ὡσαύτως δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ὑποθέσεων, ὥσπερ καὶ ἐν τοῖς Κυζικηνῶν. οἱ δὲ Θουριακοὶ[1] τὰ μὲν τοιαῦτα πάντα ἀφαιροῦσιν, οὐδ' ἐν ἀγορᾷ προστάττουσιν, ὥσπερ τἄλλα, διδόναι δὲ κελεύουσι κοινῇ τῶν γειτόνων τῶν ἐγγυτάτω τρισὶ νόμισμά τι βραχὺ μνήμης ἕνεκα καὶ μαρτυρίας. ἀναγκαῖον δηλονότι, τοῖς μὲν τὰς ἀρχὰς ὑπευθύνους ποιεῖν, τοῖς δὲ τοὺς γείτονας, ἐὰν μὴ λάβωσιν ἢ δὶς παρὰ τοῦ αὐτοῦ λάβωσιν ἢ ἔχοντες μὴ λέγωσι τῷ ἐωνημένῳ[2]. οὐ χρὴ δ' ἀγνοεῖν, ὅτι αἱ προγραφαὶ καὶ αἱ προκηρύξεις, καὶ ὅλως ὅσα πρὸς τὰς ἀμφισβητήσεις ἐστὶ πάντ' ἢ τὰ πλεῖστα δι' ἔλλειψιν ἑτέρου νόμου τίθεται· παρ' οἷς γὰρ ἀναγραφὴ τῶν κτημάτων ἐστὶ καὶ τῶν συμβολαίων, ἐξ ἐκείνων ἐστὶ μαθεῖν εἰ ἐλευθέρα καὶ ἀνέπαφα, καὶ τὰ αὐτοῦ πωλεῖ δικαίως· εὐθὺς γὰρ καὶ μετεγγράφει ἡ ἀρχὴ τὸν ἐωνημένον. ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ προστασίᾳ[3] τινὲς ὠνοῦνται καὶ πωλοῦσιν, ἀπαλλοτριοῦν ἐθέλοντες, ὀρθῶς ἔχει καὶ πρὸς ταῦτα νομοθετεῖν, ὅπερ καὶ ποιοῦσιν, ἅμα ταῦτά τε βουλόμενοι κωλύειν καὶ τὴν ὠνὴν ἐμφανῆ[4] ποιεῖν, ὥσπερ ἐν τοῖς Αἰνίων. κελεύουσι γὰρ, ἐὰν μέν τις οἰκίαν πρίηται, θύειν ἐπὶ τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος τοῦ ἐπικωμαίου· ἐὰν δὲ χωρίον, ἐπὶ τῆς κώμης ᾗ αὐτὸς οἰκεῖ, καὶ ὀμνύειν ἐναντίον τῆς ἀρχῆς ἐγγραφούσης καὶ κωμητῶν τριῶν, ἢ μὴν ὠνεῖσθαι δικαίως, μηδὲν συγκακουργοῦντα, μήτε τέχνῃ μήτε μηχανῇ μηδεμιᾷ· τὸν αὐτὸν δὲ τρόπον καὶ τὸν πωλοῦντα πωλεῖν ἀδόλως· τὸν δὲ μὴ οἰκοῦντα ἐν ἄστει θύειν τὸν ὅρκον ἐπὶ τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ ἀγοραίου, τὴν δὲ θυσίαν τῶν ἐλαττόνων εἶναι θυλήμασιν, ἄνευ δὲ τούτων μὴ ἐγγράφειν τὴν ἀρχήν· ἀλλὰ[5] καὶ ἐν τῷ ὅρκῳ προσορκίζειν αὐτὴν, ἐὰν μὴ ὀμνύωσι, μηδὲ ἐγγρά-

[1] Θουριακοί MS. Θούριοι Heyne op. Acad. II. 152 and M. Dareste.

[2] τῶν ὠναμένων MS. τῶν ἐωνημένων Heyne and Meineke. τῷ ἐωνημένῳ Madvig advers. critica I. p. 721.

[3] προστασίαι MS. πρόφασιν? Meineke. προστασίᾳ (= dicis causa) Madvig.

[4] τὴν ἐμφανῆ π. MS. Meineke inserts ἀπάτην, Dareste κτῆσιν, Madvig ὠνήν.

[5] ἅμα MS. ἀλλὰ Madvig.

ψειν τὴν ὠνήν. οὗτοι μὲν δὴ πρὸς ἀμφότερα, μᾶλλον δὲ πρὸς πάντα βούλονται πεφυλάχθαι, καθάπερ ἴσως καὶ δεῖ. κυρία δὲ ἡ ὠνὴ καὶ ἡ πρᾶσις εἰς τὴν κτῆσιν, ὅταν ἡ τιμὴ δοθῇ καὶ τὰκ τῶν νόμων ποιήσωσιν, οἷον ἀναγραφὴν ἢ ὅρκον ἢ τοῖς γείτοσι τὸ γιγνόμενον· εἰς δὲ τὴν παράδοσιν, καὶ εἰς αὐτὸ τὸ πωλεῖν, ὅταν ἀρραβῶνα λάβῃ· σχεδὸν γὰρ οὕτως οἱ πολλοὶ νομοθετοῦσιν· ἀλλὰ τοῦτο προσδιοριστέον, ἐὰν μὴ παρὰ μεθύοντος, μηδ' ἐξ ὀργῆς μηδὲ φιλονεικίας μηδὲ παρανομοῦντος, ἀλλὰ φρονοῦντος, καὶ τὸ ὅλον δικαίως ὅπερ κἀκεῖ προσθετέον, ὅταν ἀφορίζῃ παρ' ὧν δεῖ ὠνεῖσθαι. ἔοικε γὰρ ἐκ καιροῦ τὰ τοιαῦτα καὶ πάθους γίγνεσθαι· δεῖ δ' ἐκ προαιρέσεως· οὕτω γὰρ ἔσται τὸ δίκαιον. τάττουσι δὲ τινὲς καὶ τὸν ἀρραβῶνα πόσον δεῖ διδόναι πρὸς τὸ πλῆθος τῆς τιμῆς μερίζοντες· ἄτοπον γὰρ ἐὰν δακτύλιον δῷ τῶν δέκα ταλάντων. ἐὰν δὲ λαβὼν ἀρραβῶνα μὴ δέχηται τὴν τιμὴν, ἢ δοὺς μὴ καταβάλῃ ἐν τῷ ὡρισμένῳ χρόνῳ· δεῖ γὰρ ὡρίσθαι, καθάπερ ἐν τοῖς Θουρίων, τὸν μὲν ἀρραβῶνα παραχρῆμα, τὴν δὲ τιμὴν αὐθημερὸν, οἳ δὲ καὶ πλείους ἡμέρας τίθενται τῆς τιμῆς, οἳ δ' ἁπλῶς ὅσας ἂν ὁμολογήσωσι· τὸ δ' ἐπιτίμιον ἑκατέρῳ, πότερον τῷ μὲν στέρησις τοῦ ἀρραβῶνος; οὕτω γὰρ σχεδὸν οἵ τ' ἄλλοι κελεύουσι καὶ οἱ Θουριακοί· τῷ δὲ μὴ δεχομένῳ, ἔκτισις ὅσου ἂν ἀποδῶται; καὶ γὰρ τοῦτο ἐν τοῖς Θουρίων, ἡ ἄνισος ζημία· πολλαπλασία γὰρ ἡ τιμὴ τοῦ ἀρραβῶνος· ἔτι δὲ καὶ βλάπτοιτ' ἂν ὁ ἀποδόμενος ἀφεὶς ἑκατέρους, ἐπειδή τις ἐφ' ἡμέραν μίαν ὁρίσειεν· οὕτω γὰρ μάλιστα ἐνδέχεται· παρ' ἐνίοις δεδικάσθαι[1] κελεύουσι τῷ μὴ δεχομένῳ τὴν τιμήν. πότερον δὲ ἕως ἂν κομίσηται κύριον εἶναι τοῦ κτήματος; οὕτω γὰρ οἱ πολλοὶ νομοθετοῦσιν· ἢ ὥσπερ Χαρώνδας καὶ Πλάτων; οὗτοι γὰρ παραχρῆμα κελεύουσι διδόναι καὶ λαμβάνειν, ἐὰν δέ τις πιστεύσῃ, μὴ εἶναι δίκην, αὐτὸν γὰρ αἴτιον εἶναι τῆς ἀδικίας. Stob. floril. 44, 22 (Meineke).

22. *Κατὰ τὴν ἀγορὰν ἀψευδεῖν. — Θ. γοῦν ἐν τοῖς περὶ Νόμων φησὶ δυοῖν τούτων ἐπιμελεῖσθαι δεῖν τοὺς ἀγορανόμους, τῆς τε ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ εὐκοσμίας καὶ τοῦ ἀψευδεῖν μὴ μόνον τοὺς πιπράσκοντας, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς ὠνουμένους.* Harp. 170, 19; Phot. 143, 14; Suid. s. v.

23. *Ἀποβάτης καὶ ἀποβαίνειν καὶ ἀποβατικοὶ τροχοί·* —

[1] Thus M. Dareste alters the punctuation.

τὰ δ' ἐν αὐτῷ (τῷ ἀγωνίσματι) γινόμενα δηλοῖ Θ. ἐν τῷ κ' τῶν Νόμων. χρῶνται δὲ, φησὶ, τούτῳ μόνοι τῶν Ἑλλήνων Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ Βοιωτοί. Harp. 45, 8.

24. Παρασκήνια·—ἔοικε παρασκήνια καλεῖσθαι, ὡς καὶ Θ. ἐν κ' Νόμων ὑποσημαίνει, ὁ παρὰ τὴν σκηνὴν ἀποδεδειγμένος τόπος ταῖς εἰς τὸν ἀγῶνα παρασκευαῖς. Harp. 239, 8.

25. Δηλοῖ δὲ ὁ Θ. ἐν τοῖς περὶ Νόμων. λέγει γὰρ ὅτι κωλύουσιν οἱ Τυρίων νόμοι ξενικοὺς ὅρκους ὀμνύειν, ἐν οἷς μετά τινων ἄλλων καὶ τὸν καλούμενον ὅρκον κορβᾶν καταριθμεῖ. Joseph. c. Apion. I. 22.

26. Ἐπὶ τούτου (i. e. Ὑπερβόλου) δὲ καὶ τὸ ἔθος τοῦ ὀστρακισμοῦ κατελύθη, ὡς Θ. ἐν τῷ περὶ Νόμων λέγει. Schol. Lucian. Tim. p. 46 Jacobitz.

27. Θ. ἱστόρηκε καὶ τῆς ἀργίας νόμον οὐ Σόλων ἔθηκε, ἀλλὰ Πεισίστρατος, ᾧ τήν τε χώραν ἐνεργεστέραν καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἡρεμαιοτέραν ἐποίησεν. Plut. Sol. 31.

28. Νόμος καὶ οὗτος Μεσσαλιωτικός, γυναῖκας μὴ ὁμιλεῖν οἴνῳ, ἀλλ' ὑδροποτεῖν πᾶσαν γυναικῶν ἡλικίαν· λέγει δὲ Θ. καὶ παρὰ Μιλησίοις τὸν νόμον τοῦτον ἰσχύειν, καὶ πείθεσθαι αὐτῷ τὰς Μιλησίων γυναῖκας. Aelian V. H. II. 38.

29. Τὸ γοῦν ἀνθρωποθυτεῖν φησιν ὁ Θ. ἐν τῷ περὶ Τυρσηνῶν παύσασθαι αὐτοὺς Γέλωνος προστάξαντος. Schol. on Pind. Pyth. II. 3 (Boeckh II. 314).

30. Κύρβεις·—εἴρηται δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν κεκορυφῶσθαι εἰς ὕψος, ἢ κατασκειρῶσθαι, ὡς Ἀπολλόδωρος. Θ. δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν Κρητικῶν κορυβάντων. τῶν γὰρ κορυβαντικῶν ἱερῶν οἷον ἀντίγραφα αὐτοὺς εἶναι. Phot. 189, 24.

The literature concerning these fragments is very limited. The editions, which profess to contain all that is left of Theophrastus' works, give only a small number of the fragments discussed in this paper. The work περὶ Νόμων has been dealt with by Prof. H. Usener and M. Dareste. The essay of the latter (printed in Revue de Législation ancienne et moderne, française et étrangère, N°. de Mai-Juin, 1870), did not reach me until this paper had been partly written; it gives with comments the text of all the fragments with one exception, but as my plan differs from his I venture to offer the reader a further contribution on the same subject, and

some matters arising incidentally. In my commentary I shall not traverse so much of the ground, as is sufficiently treated by the writers of the various articles in Smith's Dictionary of Antiquities, but I shall call attention to books and periodicals of a later date than that Dictionary, and give extracts from certain pamphlets which are not likely to have found their way to England. Prof. Usener in his Analecta Theophrastea (Teubner, 1858), re-edites Laert. Diog. v. 42—50, where there is a catalogue of all the works of Theophrastus, and he has collected on p. 6, 25 passages from different authors where *περὶ Νόμων* is quoted, but has not given the text of them. To these references may be added Etym. M. 344, 45. In the Rheinisches Museum (1861, p. 470 foll.), he explains the meaning of the words *νόμων κατὰ στοιχεῖον κδ'*, as this work is entitled by Laertius. In his opinion the twenty-four books of the *νόμοι* were designated respectively by the twenty-four letters of the alphabet (e.g. the sixth book being numbered *ϛ'*, and the tenth *κ'*), a way of numbering divisions of a work which was quite common with the Peripatetic school, as we are informed by the commentators on Aristotle; and he rejects another interpretation, viz. that the contents were arranged in alphabetical order[1]. He says in effect that this latter supposition is improbable in itself, although it might seem to be supported by the following casual circumstance. There is a large fragment in Stob. floril. 44, 22 which is taken *ἐκ τῶν Θεοφράστου περὶ συμβολαίων* according to the best MSS. of Vienna[2]. That this subject was treated in the 18th book of the Laws is made probable by the quotation of Harp. 229, 15. Now Σ is the 18th letter of the alphabet. But just from this considerable fragment *περὶ συμβολαίων* we may see how Theophrastus arranged his enormous material. His work was intended to be a worthy pendant to Aristotle's *πολιτεῖαι*: nay, he tried to surpass this model, at least in so far as he did not content himself with collecting and presenting one after

[1] This is the opinion of Fr. Schoell, Geschichte der Griech. Litteratur II. p. 194.

[2] Bentley (diss. upon the Epistles of Phalaris, p. 265) was the first to attribute this fragment to Theophrastus *περὶ Νόμων*.

the other the laws of the different Hellenic states under the heading of that state, but in the more important branches of law he compared the different ordinances made by those states under the heading of the subject-matter[1]. Under the heading *περὶ συμβολαίων* Theophrastus has treated of a number of subordinate and kindred subjects, which, if the alphabetical arrangement had been adopted, would have been discussed under separate headings of their own. Besides, our general notions of the development of literature ought to make us suspicious of an hypothesis which would make an encyclopaedist of Theophrastus. Our suspicion is quite justified by the exact quotations from this work, mostly to be found in Harpocration: hence we are enabled several times to show a direct connection of books following each other. In the first three books the legislative power must have been spoken of, or perhaps they formed together a general introduction; the 3rd book mentions the duty of the thesmothetae of reviewing the whole body of the laws every year, and M. Dareste places next to this fragment that dealing with Ardettos (fr. 5). Books IV.—VII. relate to criminal procedure (fr. 6—9). Books X. and XI. relate to citizenship; XIII.—XVI. (no quotation from the 14th book is given) to homicide; XVIII. to *δίκαι*; XX. to public games and races.—We find sometimes quoted *Θεόφραστος ἐν τῷ περὶ Νόμων*, or *ἐν τοῖς περὶ Νόμων*; but as Prof. Usener remarks, there is no reason at all to think that those quotations were taken from Θ. *περὶ Νόμων α'* which Laertius mentions V. 47. This single book is likely to have been the first or introductory book of the large work, and from this book he thinks were taken Dig. I. 3 and 6, and Stob. floril. 37, 21. To prove this opinion he quotes Suid. s. v. *συστομώτερον σκάφης· Θ. ἐν τῷ περὶ Νόμων*, and Harp. 275, 6 Θ. *ἐν ι' Νόμων*. I give instances even more striking; what Theophrastus has said about the accuser in the case of his not receiving as many as

[1] C. Fr. Neumann (Aristot. Rerumpubl. reliqu. p. 24) quotes from Boethius Comment. in Aristot. de Interpret. p. 292: 'in omnibus, in quibus Theophrastus disputat, post magistrum leviter ea tangit, quae ab Aristotele dicta ante cognovit, alias vero diligentius res non ab Aristotele tractatas exequitur.' See Cic. de fin. bon. et mal. I. 6.

a fifth of the votes of the dicasts has been referred to in four places, but Poll. VIII. 53 names Theophrastus only, Schol. on Dem. XXII. 3 has Θ. *ἐν τῷ περὶ Νόμων*, Harp. 102, 10 Θ. *ἐν τοῖς περὶ Νόμων*, only Lex. Rhet. Cant. 677, 8 *ἐν πέμπτῳ περὶ Νόμων*. Or Poll. VIII. 52 Θ. *ἐν τῷ περὶ Νόμων*, and Lex. Rhet. Cant. 667, 13 *ἐν τῷ τετάρτῳ περὶ Νόμων*; I think sometimes the numeral has dropped out.

fr. 1—3. M. Dareste quotes Plut. Sull. 26, where Sulla is said to have seized a library which contained most of the works of Theophrastus and Aristotle, and that when the whole was afterwards conveyed to Rome the greater part of the collection passed through the hands of Tyrannion the grammarian, and was published by Andronicus the Rhodian. Cp. Sir A. Grant, The Ethics of Aristotle, p. 6.—K. Fr. Hermann (Abhandl. d. K. Gesellschaft d. Wissensch. Göttingen, 1849, p. 42) says, speaking of the Greek laws, that they are by no means drawn up in an orderly system, which, founded on the highest principles, professes to provide for every emergency, but they merely supply practical wants; he refers to Aesch. I. 13. See Lys. XXXI. 27, and Lyc. I. 8.

fr. 4. Aesch. III. 38: *μήθ' ὑμεῖς ποτ' εἰς τοσαύτην ἀταξίαν τῶν νόμων προβαίητε, οὔτ' ἠμέληται περὶ τῶν τοιούτων τῷ νομοθέτῃ τῷ τὴν δημοκρατίαν καταστήσαντι, ἀλλὰ διαῤῥήδην προστέτακται τοῖς θεσμοθέταις καθ' ἕκαστον ἐνιαυτὸν διορθοῦν ἐν τῷ δήμῳ τοὺς νόμους*, etc. Who is meant by *ὁ νομοθέτης ὁ τὴν δημοκρατίαν καταστήσας*? H. Schelling (de Solon. legg. p. 53) thinks Solon was the lawgiver, and Grote (Hist. of Greece, Vol. 8, Edition II. p. 324 n.) connects this passage with two others taken from Dem. XX. 89 foll. and XXIV. 18 foll. to show that Aeschines and Demosthenes were wrong in ascribing to Solon the formalities enjoined for repealing an existing law and enacting a new one, because they make Solon ordain that 'the proposer had to post up his project of law before the Eponymi: now the Eponymi were (the statues of) the heroes from whom the ten Kleisthenean tribes drew their names, and the law making mention of these statues proclaims itself as of a date subsequent to Kleisthenes.' A. Westermann (Zeitschrift f. Alterthumsw. 1844, p. 772), on the other hand, is of

opinion that what is called ὁ παλαιὸς νόμος (Dem. xx. 89) originated with Solon, and that the duty of annually revising the whole code of laws was imposed on the thesmothetae at a later period. See Dem. xx. 91 and 92. K. Fr. Hermann (Staatsalterth. 131, 16) approves of this opinion.

fr. 5. Harpocration says that *all* the Athenians swore the Heliastic oath at a place called Ardettus, but in after time at some other spot of which we are not informed; I need scarcely remark that the dicasts only had to swear this oath (Etym. M. 147, 10). Regarding this oath Grote (II. p. 324) remarks: 'Demosthenes and Aeschines employ the name of Solon in a very loose manner, and treat him as the author of institutions belonging evidently to a later age: for example, the striking and characteristic oath of the Heliastic jurors, which Demosthenes ascribes to Solon, proclaims itself in many ways as belonging to the age of Kleisthenes, especially by the mention of the senate of five hundred, and not of four hundred.' The date, therefore, and not the genuineness of the oath is called into question; see also III. 121, n. 1. I shall give the gist of three small pamphlets by A. Westermann (de jurisjurandi judicum Atheniensium formula quae exstat in Demosthenis oratione in Timocr., 1859), in which the latter is fully discussed. The conclusion there arrived at is; 'ea formula non solum contineri nonnulla quae ab ipsa re aliena esse videantur, verum etiam non contineri omnia in quae judices Athenienses jurasse aliunde compertum habeamus, praetereaque ipsam etiam orationem non esse talem quae recte ubique procedere ac foro Attico prorsus convenire dici queat.' The first sentence as far as πεντακοσίων is genuine, because the same words occur repeatedly in the orators, cp. Dem. XIX. 179, to refer to one out of many passages, and from Aesch. III. 6 we see that the oath began in that way. Yet this introductory sentence is not complete. See Dem. XX. 118:—ὅτι νῦν ὁμωμοκότες κατὰ τοὺς νόμους δικάσειν ἥκετε—καὶ περὶ ὧν ἂν νόμοι μὴ ὦσι, γνώμῃ τῇ δικαιοτάτῃ κρίνειν, and other passages. From this difference in the introductory sentence of the oath the conclusion has been drawn that there were two somewhat different oaths to be taken by the dicasts, the one which we are discussing at

the beginning of their year of office, and the other alluded to by Dem. xx. 118 before every exercise of their functions. Westermann rejects this opinion as not based on any good authority; for the words of Pollux do not justify such a conclusion: he found in the books which were the sources of his information the mention of an oath to be taken at Ardettus by those who were appointed judges for the year, but mistaking Ardettus for a court of justice, and remembering that the plaintiff and defendant had to take an oath likewise, he mixes up all these things in the following manner: *ὀμοσάντων δὲ καὶ δικαζομένων τὸ πᾶν ἐκαλεῖτο ἀμφιορκία* (VIII. 122). Yet *ἀμφιορκία* has quite a different meaning: it means the oath taken by the plaintiff and defendant at the preliminary investigation of the case, and therefore before the case was brought before a court of justice. Besides other reasons, the words of Isocr. XV. 21, and XVIII. 34 show clearly that the dicasts took one oath only, and that at the beginning of their year of office. Then follows to l. 10[1], *οὔτ' ἄλλον οὐδένα ἐάσω*, an enumeration of certain specified cases, which is superfluous after the solemn engagement contained in the first sentence, and cannot by any means have had its place in a Heliastic oath, as the courts of justice had nothing to do with most of them. The next lines (11—18) are objected to especially on account of their style: 'tam misere composita sunt, ut vix discipulo semidocto, nedum legislatori Attico imputari queant;' besides, the magistrates were under the control of the dicasts in many more points which the compiler passes by in silence, e.g. at the expiration of their term of office, etc. This objection, however, must not be understood, as though Westermann expected that all these cases were specified in the oath; he finds in their absence merely a proof that the oath as it is inserted is carelessly compiled. The compiler strung together every bit of information he could get, without showing any skill in putting each in its proper place. He is right in saying that a dicast should be not less than thirty years of age (l. 19), but he might quite as well have spoken of the other conditions of his eligibility, e.g.

[1] The lines I quote are those of Dindorf's edition (Teubner).

that he should be in the enjoyment of his full franchise. His conditions were in all probability tested before he had been selected by lot. The next sentence is copied from a good source, exception is taken to διαψηφιοῦμαι only. Lastly, the compiler is mistaken in naming Zeus, Poseidon, and Demeter as the gods by whom the oath was sworn, see Dem. LII. 9, Schol on Aesch. I. 114 etc.—Andoc. I. 90: τί δώσαντες δικάζετε: 'καὶ οὐ μνησικακήσω, οἷ δὲ ἄλλῳ πείσομαι, ψηφιοῦμαι δὲ κατὰ τοὺς κειμένους νόμους.' Westermann remarks regarding the first part of this passage: 'apparet post restitutam Ol. XCIV. 2, rempublicam Atheniensium verba ista ad judicium jusjurandum accessisse. Nihilo minus, quod ea non recepit, recte, opinor, fecit auctor formulae. Nam sine dubio per breve tantum tempus duravere[1].'

fr. 6. I shall be very brief on the εἰσαγγελία here, as I dealt with this form of procedure in a former paper printed in this journal (No. 7. p. 72—112). Theophrastus' statement is corroborated by Hyp. III. 22. 23, yet neither quotes the law at full length, Hyperides citing it only to the passage which applies to the case in hand. A passage from an inscription (Boeckh, Staatshaushaltung d. Ath. III. p. 540) supplies us with a further clause: εἶναι δὲ καὶ εἰσαγγελίαν αὐτῶν εἰς τὴν βουλήν, καθάπερ ἐάν τις ἀδικῇ περὶ τὰ ἐν τοῖς νεωρίοις: and from the title of a lost speech of Dinarchus κατὰ Ἡγήσεω περὶ τῶν κατὰ τὸ ἐμπόριον εἰσαγγελία and other passages I think we may conclude that a clause of the νόμος εἰσαγγελτικὸς was directed against offences committed against the commercial laws. Yet the eisangelia was not confined to the crimes specially mentioned in the law: any crime might be proceeded against under this form of procedure, but then the crime must be construed in its general results as one of the crimes enumerated in the law and proceeded against under that head: e.g. the adulterer Lycophron was proceeded against by an εἰσαγγελία καταλύσεως τοῦ δήμου, see also the above quotation from Boeckh. That an eis-

[1] Socrates says (Plat. Apol. Socr. 35 c): καὶ δικαστὴν οἱ χαλεπῶς εἶσθαι οἷς ἂν δοκῇ αὐτῷ, ἀλλὰ δικάσειν κατὰ τοὺς νόμους; but μὴ χαλεπῶς εἶναι would have been reprimed, if the word had occurred in the oath. Besides, see Lys. XIV. 22. 40, etc.

angelia was resorted to in many instances, where it ought not to have been, we see from Hyp. III. 19, and Lex. Rhet. Cant. s. v.: *ἔνιοι δὲ τῶν ῥητόρων εἰώθεσαν καλεῖν καὶ τὰ μὴ μεγάλα ἀδικήματα εἰσαγγελίαν*; whence may have arisen the notion that the *εἰσαγγελία* was *κατὰ καινῶν καὶ ἀγράφων ἀδικημάτων*. Nor do I think that Hyperides, in the part of the law he quotes, gives us the exact wording of the law; he particularises *ἐάν τις τὸν δῆμον τὸν Ἀθηναίων καταλύῃ* by adding *ἢ συνίῃ ποι ἐπὶ καταλύσει τοῦ δήμου* (cp. Din. I. 94) *ἢ ἑταιρικὸν συναγάγῃ* (cp. Isocr. XVI. 6), whilst Pollux and the Lex. Rhet. Cant. merely mention *κατὰ τῶν καταλυόντων τὸν δῆμον* and *ἐάν τις καταλύῃ τὸν δῆμον*; the latter, on the other hand, specify *προδοσία*: *ἐάν τις εἰς τοὺς πολεμίους ἀφικνῆται ἄνευ τοῦ πεμφθῆναι παρὰ τοῦ δήμου* etc. Hyperides himself adds to the clause of the law referring to the orators in a later passage of the same speech (c. 39) *καὶ δωρεὰς παρὰ τῶν τἀναντία πραττόντων τῷ δήμῳ*[1].

fr. 7. Among the cases to which the *προβολή* was applied are generally mentioned complaints against those who worked the public mines clandestinely and those who were guilty of peculation or embezzlement of the public money; and as an instance of a *προβολή* brought against a person charged with embezzlement, the case of Aristophon is quoted, Dem. XXI. 218, *οὐδ' ὥσπερ Ἀριστοφῶν ἀποδοὺς τοὺς στεφάνους ἔλυσε τὴν προβολήν*. According to the Scholiast Eubulus brought a *προβολή* against Aristophon for having kept in his hands certain tithes out of which some crowns had to be bought, and Aristophon in order to stop the prosecution gave up the crowns without delay.

[1] I might as well mention here a curious passage from the Schol. on Aesch. III. 159 (F. Schulz, p. 342). After the capture of Thebes Alexander sent a letter to the people of Athens demanding some of the leading anti-Macedonian orators and generals; different opinions have come down to us as to whom he demanded. (Cp. my Quaest. Hyperid. p. 30.) Demades was appointed by the people to appease Alexander; *ὁ δὲ τοῦτο εἰπὼν ἔπεισεν ὅτι εἴασεν αὐτοὺς Ἀθήνησι ῥητορικῷ θανάτῳ ἀποθανεῖν*. From this saying we may learn that the life of an orator was in great danger at Athens in case his proposals turned out a failure, the Athenians holding their counsellors answerable for the result. Thus when the news of the failure of the Athenian arms in Sicily was conveyed to Athens, the people threw the blame on the orators who had counselled the expedition, *ὥσπερ οὐκ αὐτοὶ ψηφισάμενοι*, Thucydides adding appropriately (VIII. 1).

That is all we know of the case. K. Fr. Hermann (de probole p. 15) thinks the case of Chaerephilus (Hyp. fr. 183—193) to have been a *προβολήν* 'quam orationem quum Harp. s.v. *καταχειροτονία* cum Midiana conjungat, quamvis in causa mercatoria tamen et ipsam ad *προβολὴν* spectasse credibile est.' The opinion that a *προβολή* could be resorted to in case a person was charged with clandestine working of the public mines, rests on a single passage taken from the Lex. Rhet. Cant. 676, 24; MS. *προβολή· φανεροῦ μέν τινος, λανθάνοντος δὲ μήνυσις· Καικίλιος δέ φησιν εἶναι ἣν κατὰ τῶν δημόσια μέταλλα ὑπορυττόντων ἀποφέρουσι* etc.; Meier writes: *προβολὴ μὲν φανεροῦ τινος ἀδικήματος, φάσις δὲ λανθάνοντος μήνυσις· Καικίλιος δὲ φάσιν φησὶν εἶναι* etc. This correction—for *φάσις* may have easily been overlooked before *φησιν*—is confirmed by passages like Bekk. Anecd. 314, 16: *φάσις· μήνυσις πρὸς τοὺς ἄρχοντας κατὰ τῶν ὑπορυττόντων τὸ μέταλλον* etc. Poll. VIII. 47 etc. Hyp. III. 44 mentions a *φάσις* laid by Lysander against the mine of Epicrates 'that the cuttings had been worked beyond the boundaries,' see Prof. Babington's note to the passage.

fr. 8. As to the penalty of the prosecutor consequent upon a failure to get a fifth part of the votes *ἐν τοῖς δημοσίοις ἀγῶσιν* in general our authorities for the most part agree; not so as regards the prosecutor who had resorted to an *εἰσαγγελία*: Lex. Rhet. Cant. *οἱ δικασταὶ τιμῶσι*, Poll. *μὴ ἀτιμοῦσθαι μὲν, ὀφλεῖν δὲ τὰς χιλίας*; and Harp. 104, 15 distinguishes two periods: *χιλίας ἐκτίνει· τὸ δὲ παλαιὸν καὶ οὗτοι μειζόνως ἐκολάζοντο.* Of this heavier punishment, which according to Harpocration awaited the accuser at a time before the penalty was fixed at 1000 drachmae, no mention is made by the orators; nay from two passages in Hyp. II. (c. 7 and 10) we learn that the accuser in an *εἰσαγγελία* at one time was subjected to no penalty whatever. The fact is that at the time this speech was delivered the accuser was *ἀκίνδυνος* and that afterwards the impunity was discontinued *διὰ τοὺς ῥᾳδίως εἰσαγγέλλοντας* Poll. l. c.; and I think that from Dem. XVIII. 250, we can draw the conclusion that at that time, when he was assailed by prosecutions of the most various form and colour, viz. in the period following the disaster of Chaeroneia, the impunity had been discontinued. Prof. A.

Schaefer (Jahn's Jahrb. 1853, p. 28) supposes that the case of Lycophron came on shortly before Ol. 107, 4; I was inclined to put it some years later (Quaest. Hyp. 74. 75), but I agree now with Dr Blass (in a critique of my pamphlet, Philolog. Blätter, 1870) that with our scanty information the exact date of the speech can scarcely be fixed. So much is certain that after the peace of Demades the informer was subject to a penalty in the event of his not obtaining the fifth part of the votes, and that he continued to be so, we may gather from Lyc. I. 3 (Leocrates was impeached by Lycurgus in 330) and from the absence of any allusions in Hyp. III. (delivered about the same time) similar to those made in his speech written for Lycophron. According to Meier and Schoemann (Att. Proc. p. 260) he who prosecuted an individual by means of an *ἀπογραφή*, if he failed to obtain the votes of one-fifth of the dicasts, would *probably* incur a modified *ἀτιμία*, i.e. a restriction from bringing such actions for the future. That this was certainly the case we learn from Hyp. III. 43, 44.

fr. 9. If the witness in a cause gave false evidence, the injured party was at liberty to bring an action against him (*δίκη ψευδομαρτυριῶν*), and after the conviction of the witness an action might be maintained against the party who suborned him to give false evidence (*δίκη κακοτεχνιῶν*), to recover compensation. In some cases only the Athenian law allowed the party upon the conviction of the witnesses to obtain a new trial, as we are informed: in cases of inheritance, *δίκη ψευδομαρτυριῶν*, and *γραφὴ ξενίας*—but in no other instances. The correctness of this statement has been doubted and with good reason; for many similar instances may be conceived, in which the recovery of damages cannot be considered an equivalent compensation for the injury suffered. The Scholiast says that it was necessary to convict more than half the number of the witnesses; but these words are not taken from Theophrastus; they refer to Plato: *ἐὰν τῶν τοιούτων ὑπὲρ ἥμισυ μαρτυριῶν καταδικασθῶσί τινες* etc. Prof. A. Schaefer (Demosthenes und s. Zeit. III. B 83. 196) distinguishes two kinds of *δίκαι ψευδομαρτυριῶν*, as it were: the injured party rebuts the evidence of all the witnesses or at least of most of them, and thus gets

the former award annulled; or he brings an action against one or more witnesses and recovers compensation for the injury he or they have done. But I do not think that in all cases, even upon the conviction of all the witnesses or of most of them, a new trial could be obtained; although, as I said before, I do not believe that this remedy was confined to the cases mentioned by the Scholiast, yet I think that it was confined to those cases in which the recovery of damages from the witnesses cannot be considered as compensation for the injury they have done. Prof. A. Schaefer remarks, when we survey the course of the speech of Demosthenes against Aphobus, it seems as though Demosthenes feared lest the verdict in the previous case given in his favour might be reversed, which, Prof. Schaefer says, was not possible upon the conviction of one single witness. I look at this case in the same light as Mr G. A. Simcox does (the Orations of Dem. and Aesch. on the Crown xxx.): 'if Aphobus had gained his verdict'—and I beg leave to add, if he had convicted Philippus also[1]—'he would not have been legally entitled to a new trial. Perhaps he could have recovered from Phanus; certainly the conviction of Phanus would have discredited the former verdict enough to create a serious prejudice against Demosthenes in any future attempts to enforce it.' I need scarcely mention that in such an action it was not only to be shown that the evidence of a witness was false, but also that this false evidence had procured the verdict. The conviction of one witness only may have been sufficient in some cases. Thus in Isaeus Or. v., as Dicaeogenes was slain in a sea-fight without leaving any children, Proxenus, the father of the defendant who was also called Dicaeogenes, produced a will in which his son was adopted by the deceased and appointed heir to a third part; the rest went to the four sisters of the deceased. Twelve years later Dicaeogenes asserted that he was appointed heir to the whole and gained a verdict. One of the nephews of the deceased began a prosecution against those who had sworn that the deceased had appointed Dicaeogenes heir to his whole

[1] Demosthenes had produced three witnesses: Aesius, Aphobus' brother (ὃς νῦν μὲν ἔξαρνός ἐστι—τότε δ' ἐμαρτύρησε ταῦτα μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων xxix. 15), Phanus, and Philippus; Aphobus prosecuted Phanus first.

estate, and convicted Lycon, whom he first brought to justice, of perjury. Frightened by the conviction of Lycon, Dicaeogenes made a compromise with the plaintiff. § 14 we read *ἐπειδὴ οἱ μάρτυρες ἑάλωσαν*, although one only had been convicted; this conviction discredited the evidence of the other witnesses called for the same purpose. See [Dem.] XLVII. 1; Suid. s.v. *δίκην· ἢ τῶν μαρτύρων ἁλόντων ψευδομαρτυριῶν* (cp. Hesychius s.v. *ἀνάδικοι*). Isaeus XI. 46 *κελεύει δ' ὁ νόμος ἐὰν ἁλῷ τις τῶν ψευδομαρτυριῶν, πάλιν ἐξ ἀρχῆς εἶναι περὶ αὐτῶν τὰς λήξεις*, cp. v. 17; this refers to the *λῆξις* only. I avail myself of this opportunity to call attention to a discussion of the *γραφὴ ξενίας* especially in its relation to the *διαψήφισις* by Dr A. Philippi in his Beiträge z. einer Gesch. d. Att. Bürgerrechts, p. 38 foll. He rejects the opinion of Platner (Beiträge, p. 195) that the latter has developed itself out of the former, by showing that they existed one by the side of the other for a period of at least 50 years, dating the *διαψήφισις* mentioned by Dem. LVII. 60, 62, in 370, and the last instance of a *γραφὴ ξενίας* being that of Dinarchus against Pytheas. Meier (de bon. damnat. p. 94, etc.) says a *γραφὴ ξενίας* could be brought against those only whose father and mother both were aliens, quoting Harp. 211, 10: *Κρατερὸς γοῦν ἐν τῷ δ' τῶν ψηφισμάτων φησὶν· ἐὰν δέ τις ἐξ ἀμφοῖν ξένοιν γεγονὼς φρατρίζῃ, διώκειν εἶναι τῷ βουλομένῳ Ἀθηναίων.* Dr Philippi connects this passage with the legislation of the year 404/3, in which Aristophon proposed the law: *ὃς ἂν μὴ ἐξ ἀστῆς γένηται νόθον εἶναι* (C. Müller, fragm. Hist. Gr. IV. p. 358). Nicomenes, to deprive it of its ex post facto application, inserted the amendment: *μηδένα τῶν μετ' Εὐκλείδην ἄρχοντα μετέχειν τῆς πόλεως, ἂν μὴ ἄμφω τοὺς γονέας ἀστοὺς ἐπιδείξηται, τοὺς δὲ πρὸ Εὐκλείδου ἀνεξετάστους ἀφεῖσθαι* (Schol. on Aesch. I. 39). Dr Philippi points out that in the law of Aristophon the father must have been supposed to be an Athenian, that therefore the amendment of Nicomenes could only direct that the children of Athenian citizens by foreign mothers, born before the archonship of Euclides, should be admitted to the franchise. To this he adds the passage taken from Craterus, which ordained that, with regard to those whose father and mother both were aliens, proceedings might be taken against

them as usual by a γραφὴ ξενίας. It does therefore not say that in general a γραφὴ ξενίας could be resorted to against those only, whose father and mother both were aliens; a γραφὴ ξενίας was confined to that class under these particular circumstances only, since by the amendment of Nicomenes those who were born before the archonship of Euclides by an alien mother were exempted from all inquiry. The first instance of a γραφὴ ξενίας, which is mentioned by Arist. Vesp. 717, belongs to the year 422, but the institution must be supposed to be of older date. That of those born after the archonship of Euclides only those possessed the franchise who had sprung from the marriage of citizens with the daughters of citizens we learn from Isaeus VIII. 34. Then Dr Philippi discusses the διαψήφισις; it was not a judicial act directed against a definite person, but an exercise of corporate self-government borrowing the form of an action at law. If the Lexiarchic register of a demus was lost, or destroyed, or tampered with, care was taken in composing the new one that the names of none should be recorded but those whose claims were approved of by the demus. This might cause the names of some to be struck off the list; if they acquiesced in the sentence which had been passed, the only punishment which was imposed upon them was the degradation to the rank of aliens. On the other hand, any citizen might at any time institute a γραφὴ ξενίας against a person who unlawfully usurped the rights of citizenship. When a person tried on this charge was acquitted by any species of bribery, he was liable to be indicted afresh by a γραφὴ δωροξενίας; if condemned he was to be sold for a slave. The judgment however was arrested if he brought a δίκη ψευδομαρτυριῶν against the witnesses who had procured his conviction, and during such proceedings he was kept in safe custody to abide the event. The proceedings were the same when a person whose name had been expunged from the register appealed from this decision to a court of justice.

fr. 10. Theophrastus dealt with the metoecs in the 10th book; they had to perform certain services to the Athenians at the Panathenaea. The men had to perform the σκαφηφορία; according to Demetrius their unmarried daughters had to carry parasols (σκιαδηφορία), and vessels with water (ὑδριαφορία),

whilst we learn from Poll. III. 55, that their wives were called *ὑδριαφόροι, ἀπὸ τοῦ ἔργου.* Aelianus (Var. Hist. VI. 1) has another distribution: *τὰς γοῦν παρθένους τῶν μετοίκων σκιαδηφορεῖν ἠνάγκαζον ταῖς ἑαυτῶν κόραις, τὰς δὲ γυναῖκας ταῖς γυναιξί.* Prof. A. Mommsen (Heortologie, p. 180 foll.) remarks in regard to those services that they were based upon the attachment of a metoec family to the family of an Athenian citizen, and that the services required and given depended entirely upon the numbers and status of the two families respectively.

fr. 11. Cp. *ἀπάρτιον προγράφειν* to put up goods to public sale Plut. Cic. 27.

fr. 13. *ἀτέλειαν* MS., *ἰσοτέλειαν* Bekker. Meier (de proxenia, p. 20) approving of Bekker's conjecture remarks: 'nonnunquam non singularibus peregrinis, sed universis civitatibus id datum muneris esse, sic accipiendum est, ut civitatium, quae eo essent donatae munere, omnibus civibus, qui Athenas sedem domiciliumque transferre vellent, id esset privilegium, ut non alia vectigalia penderent quam cives.' Boeckh (Staatsh. I. p. 121) retains the reading of the MS., and expresses some doubt as to whether it signifies a general immunity or an exemption from protection-money and liturgies, in case Thebans and Olynthians should come as denizens to Athens. M. Dareste following Bekker refers to Egger, Etudes historiques sur les traités chez les Grecs et chez les Romains, a book which I have not been able to consult.

fr. 14—18. I refer the reader to a paper by Dr Philippi, der Athenische Volksbeschluss von 409/8 (Neue Jahrb. f. Phil. und Pädag. 1872, 577—607), in which this important inscription is fully discussed in its bearing on the laws referring to homicide inserted in Dem. XXIII., and the speech against Macartatus [Dem.] XLIII., and which affords other valuable information. As far as [Dem.] XLIII. 57 is concerned, we learn that the subject-matter is genuine, although it is put forth in a different order from that of the inscription. The text of the latter runs as follows: *αἰδέσασθαι δ' ἐὰν μὲν πατὴρ ᾖ ἢ ἀδελφὸς ἢ υἱεῖς, ἅπαντας ἢ τὸν κωλύοντα κρατεῖν*...other relatives and the oath ([Dem.] XLVII. 72) were probably mentioned here...*ἐὰν δὲ τούτων μηδεὶς ᾖ, κτείνῃ δὲ ἄκων, γνῶσι δὲ οἱ πεντήκοντα καὶ εἷς οἱ ἐφέται ἄκοντα κτεῖναι, ἐσέσθων δὲ οἱ φράτερες ἐὰν ἐθέλωσι*

δέκα, τούτους δὲ οἱ πεντήκοντα καὶ εἷς ἀριστίνδην αἱρείσθων. καὶ οἱ πρότερον κτείναντες ἐν τῷδε τῷ θέσμῳ ἐνεχέσθων. προειπεῖν τῷ κτείναντι ἐν ἀγορᾷ ἐντὸς ἀνεψιότητος καὶ ἀνεψιῶν. συνδιώκειν δὲ καὶ ἀνεψιοὺς καὶ ἀνεψιῶν παῖδας καὶ γαμβροὺς καὶ πενθεροὺς καὶ φράτερας. With regard to the first eight documents inserted in the speech against Aristocrates, Fr. Franke (de legum formulis quae in Dem. Arist. reperiuntur) has shown that they are compiled from the quotations from the documents read, which the speaker recited after the clerk, supplemented occasionally by more or less infelicitous conjectures. Dr Philippi endorses this opinion on the whole, and defends it against Dr Ulrich Köhler (Hermes II., p. 27 foll.), who thinks that where the documents differ from the words of the speaker, the inscription agrees with them. Dr Philippi reads that part of the inscription in the following way: ἐὰν δέ τις τὸν ἀνδροφόνον κτείνῃ ἢ αἴτιος ᾖ φόνου, ἀπεχόμενον ἀγορᾶς ἐφορίας καὶ ἄθλων καὶ ἱερῶν ἀμφικτυονικῶν, ὥσπερ τὸν Ἀθηναῖον κτείναντα ἐν τοῖς αὐτοῖς ἐνέχεσθαι, διαγινώσκειν δὲ τοὺς ἐφέτας (3rd document, cp. § 38, 39). τοὺς δὲ ἀνδροφόνους ἐξεῖναι ἀποκτείνειν καὶ ἀπάγειν ἐν τῇ ἡμεδαπῇ, λυμαίνεσθαι δὲ μὴ μηδ' ἀποινᾶν (part of the 2nd document, cp. §§ 29—35). κατὰ τῶν ἐνδεικνύντων τοὺς ἀνδροφόνους, ἐάν τις κατίῃ ὅποι μὴ ἔξεστι, δίκας φόνου μὴ εἶναι (5th docum. cp. § 51, 52)[1]...ἄρχοντα χειρῶν ἀδίκων (cp. § 50)...there is not room enough to insert here a third law about δίκαιος φόνος (the 6th docum.) even with the omission of those words of it which are not recited by Demosthenes in §§ 53—55; therefore Demosthenes must be supposed to have had before him a law different from that of the inscription[2]...καὶ ἐὰν φέροντα ἢ ἄγοντα βίᾳ ἀδίκως εὐθὺς ἀμυνόμενος κτείνῃ, νηποινεὶ τεθνάναι (7th docum. cp. § 60)... ὃς ἂν ἄρχων ἢ ἰδιώτης αἴτιος ᾖ τὸν θεσμὸν συγχυθῆναι τόνδε ἢ μεταποιήσῃ αὐτόν, ἄτιμος ἔστω καὶ οἱ παῖδες καὶ τὰ ἐκείνου (8th docum. cp. § 62). The 4th document (cp. § 45 foll.) is supposed to have been written on another stone pillar.—

[1] The only letters visible on that part of the stone are Oll; Dr Köhler reads ἢ διπλοῦν ὀφείλειν ὅσον ἂν καταβλάψῃ; yet these words are not likely to have been in a law about homicide.

[2] Thus Grote says 'the enumeration of the different admitted justifications for homicide, which we find in Dem. c. Arist. p. 637, seems rather too copious and systematic for the age of Draco; it may have been amended by Solon, or perhaps in an age subsequent to Solon' (II. p. 333, n.).

As to the situation of the courts of justice for the trial of homicide, see Prof. E. Curtius' Erläuternder Text d. 7 Karten z. Topographie v. Athen, p. 55.—Dr Philippi is inclined to believe the ephetae to be older than Draco, and the Areopagitic senate to have been created by Solon (Rhein. Mus. 1873, p. 12).

fr. 19. Theophrastus speaks of the two stones or stone platforms on which at a trial of murder before the Areopagites the plaintiff and the defendant respectively stood, that of the plaintiff being called *ὁ λίθος ἀναιδείας*, and that of the defendant *ὁ λίθος ὕβρεως*, cp. Pausan. I. 28, 5. Theophrastus did not use the term *λίθος*, but *βωμός*, and this gave rise to the mistake of Cicero de leg. II. 11, 'nam illud vitiosum Athenis, quod expiato Cylonio scelere Epimenide suadente fecerunt Contumeliae fanum et Impudentiae.' Favorinus explains *βωμός· οὐ μόνον ἐφ' ὧν ἔθυον, ἀλλὰ καὶ κτίσμα τι ἁπλῶς καὶ ἀνάστημα, ἐφ' οὗ ἐστι βῆναι τι καὶ τεθῆναι—βωμοῖς· βαθμοῖς*. Prof. Forchhammer (Ind. Schol. Kiel 1843/4), who illustrates this passage in this way, adds '*λίθος ἀναιδείας* non est impudentiae lapis, sed implacabilitatis sive negatae veniae.—qui vero accuset, is jam se nolle ostendit veniam dare, atque vel eam ob causam debet ex *ἀναιδείας* lapide perorare.'

fr. 20. On *οὐσίας δίκη* see Smith's Dictionary s. vv. *ἐμβατεία* and *ἐνοικίου δίκη*, and Boeckh, Staatsh. I. 496 n. h. I will give here the outlines of a small pamphlet by Dr Philippi (Symbolae ad doctrinam juris Attici de syngraphis et de *οὐσίας* notione) in which the meanings of *οὐσία φανερά* and *οὐσία ἀφανής* are investigated. Property is called *φανερός* when it cannot be secreted or denied (Isaeus XVI. 43); out of this another meaning arose: *φανερός* was said of ready money as opposed to money lent on interest, which could not easily be valued (Isocr. XVII. 7); and as those Athenians who did not wish to pay taxes and perform public duties in proportion to their means used to turn their property into money for the purpose of secreting it (which was called *ἀφανίζειν*), *φανερὰ τὰ ὄντα καταστῆναι* (Isaeus VII. 39) was said of those who returned all their property. The author sums up: '*οὐσία φανερά* apud Atticos dicitur primo loco quidquid ita quis possidet, ut se possidere negare nequeat, deinde pecunia quatenus *τῷ δανείσματι* opposita est, denique ea bono-

rum pars, de qua tributum conferendum est.' Since the introduction of the general register of property, the census not only comprehended lands and houses, but all unemployed or employed capital, slaves, raw and manufactured materials, cattle, household-furniture, in short all money or money's worth: see Dem. XXVII. 9 foll. The usual division of property into res immobiles and res mobiles (according to Roman law) can therefore no longer be maintained for Athens.

fr. 21. On the tax of a hundredth upon sales cp. Boeckh, Staatsh. II. p. 348. The same writer remarks (I. p. 663) that it cannot be proved that at Athens the debts upon landed property were entered in a public book; we hear of registers of debts in Chios (Arist. Oecon. II. 2, 12) and at a later period in Aphrodisias (C. I. Gr. II. 537 foll.). M. Dareste says the passage from Plato alluded to is Leges XI. 915; see also VIII. 849 E: *ἐν τούτοις ἀλλάττεσθαι νόμισμά τε χρημάτων καὶ χρήματα νομίσματος, μὴ προϊέμενον ἄλλον ἑτέρῳ τὴν ἀλλαγήν· ὁ δὲ προέμενος ὡς πιστεύων, ἐάν τε κομίσηται καὶ ἂν μὴ, στεργέτω ὡς οὐκέτι δίκης οὔσης τῶν τοιούτων πέρι συναλλάξεων.* That this law was not in force at Athens we may see from Lysias fr. 1: *οὐχ οἱ μὲν κάπηλοι οἱ ἐγγὺς οἰκοῦντες, παρ' ὧν προδόσεις λαμβάνων οὐκ ἀποδίδωσι, δικάζονται αὐτῷ συγκλείσαντες τὰ καπηλεῖα.*

fr. 22. See Dem. XX. 9, and Plat. Leg. VIII. 849 A.

fr. 23. Dion. Halic. VII. 73 remarks that the Romans had preserved two very old races; *ἕτερον δὲ (ἐπιτήδευμα) ὁ τῶν παρεμβεβληκότων τοῖς ἅρμασι δρόμος. ὅταν γὰρ τέλος αἱ τῶν ἵππων ἅμιλλαι λάβωνται, ἀποπηδῶντες ἀπὸ τῶν ἁρμάτων οἱ παροχούμενοι τοῖς ἡνιόχοις, οὓς οἱ ποιηταὶ μὲν παραβάτας καλοῦσιν, Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ ἀποβάτας, τὸ σταδιαῖον ἁμιλλῶνται δρόμον αὐτοὶ πρὸς ἀλλήλους.* From this account it might seem as though the race of the apobates began after that of the chariots was over; yet we know from Bekk. anecd. 426, 30 (part of the passage is corrupt) that they jumped from the chariots and mounted them again *θεόντων τῶν ἵππων.* A similar race, called *κάλπη*, is described by Pausanias V. 9: *ἦν δὲ ἡ μὲν θήλεια ἵππος, καὶ ἀπ' αὐτῶν ἀποπηδῶντες ἐπὶ τῷ ἐσχάτῳ δρόμῳ συνέθεον οἱ ἀναβάται τοῖς ἵπποις εἰλημμένοι τῶν χαλινῶν.* Pausan. calls them *ἀναβάται*; Hesych. *ἀποβαίνοντες· ἀναβαίνοντες.* See

Boeckh, Kleine Schriften VI. p. 396 (= Annali dell' instituto 1829, fasc. I. II.).

fr. 24. The exact meaning of *παρασκήνια* has not yet been settled: it first occurs Dem. XXI. 17 *τὰ παρασκήνια φράττων προσηλῶν*, etc., and the Scholiast interprets it *αἱ ἐπὶ τῆς σκηνῆς εἴσοδοι* (cp. Didymus), whilst Theophrastus explains it *ὁ παρὰ τὴν σκηνὴν ἀποδεδειγμένος τόπος ταῖς εἰς τὸν ἀγῶνα παρασκευαῖς*. The latter explanation seems to be the correct one; it suits the words of Demosthenes and one may easily see how the other explanation arose out of them. It is not necessary to suppose that the Scholiast differed from Theophrastus on this point; he did not so much intend to bring forward an explanation of his own, as to explain how the blocking-up could have been effected: one may conceivably say *φράττειν* of rooms which had doors leading to the stage, and *προσηλῶν* is added by way of explanation. See Fr. Wieseler, Griechenland IV. p. 222 (Separatausgabe aus Ersch and Gruber's Encyclopädie).

fr. 25. קָרְבָּן means offering, vow. It is not the formula for a judicial oath but that customary in sanctioning a vow, as I have been kindly informed by Prof. T. Theodores.

fr. 26. Meier (Ind. Lect. Halle 1835/6) is of opinion that the statement of Theophrastus that Phaeax and not Nicias was the rival of Alcibiades, when Hyperbolus was ostracised (Plut. Nic. 11), was contained in *περὶ Νόμων*. In another work of his, Theophrastus is said to have stated that Theseus was the first who suffered ostracism, Suid. s. v. *ἀρχὴ Σκυρία*!—Dr Lugebil (4. Supplementband d. Jahrb. f. Philol. 1861, p. 119—175) discusses all the questions connected with ostracism, referring occasionally to the parliamentary customs of England. Grote (V. p. 135 n.) says: 'the practical working of the ostracism presents it as a struggle between two contending leaders, accompanied with chance of banishment to both.' Dr Lugebil, who professes to differ from Grote, and quotes III. 132, where the aim of the ostracism is explained, arrives at about the same conclusion, but maintains that ostracism never was anything else but what the practical working of it presented it to be. He holds the opinion that the minimum of 6000 applies to

the votes given in all and not to votes given against any one name, and maintains that ostracism was introduced after the year 496.

fr. 27. Some say that Draco enacted this law and that Solon retained it; others that Solon borrowed it from the Egyptians, and according to Theophrastus it was Pisistratus who first introduced it. Draco is said to have ordained death (see Lys. fr. 35; Plut. Sol. 17), or according to Poll. VIII. 42, disfranchisement as the penalty; Solon modified the penalty and inflicted a fine of 100 drachmae for the first conviction, and disfranchisement only when a person was convicted a third time (Lex. Rhet. Cant. 665, 22[1]). From the scarcity of our material it is impossible to determine who was the first to give the law: it may be a very old one and enacted by Draco; Solon may have modified it in the way mentioned above, and Pisistratus may have subjected it to a further modification, as to the nature of which we are not informed; that his legislation tended in that direction we may assume from Plut. Sol. 31.

fr. 28—30. M. Dareste is of opinion that these fragments as well as fr. 27 belong to *περὶ Νόμων*. Fr. 27 might as well have been contained in *περὶ Νομοθετῶν*; as to fr. 30 I am more doubtful. The Scholiast on Arist. Av. 1354 has: *κύρβεις —ἀπὸ τῶν Κορυβάντων. ἐκείνων γὰρ εὕρημα, ὥς φησι Θεόπομπος ἐν τῷ περὶ εὐσεβείας* (cp. Tzetz. Chil. XII. 406), where Ruhnken (Hist. Critica Orat. Graec. p. 88 ed. Lugd.) writes *Θεόφραστος*, who, as we know from Laertius, had written a book *περὶ εὐσεβείας*. As to the etymology of *κύρβεις* see Prof. G. Curtius, Principles of Greek Etymology. Grote (II. 322) and Prof. E. Curtius (Greek Hist. I. 342) distinguish between *κύρβεις* and *ἄξονες*, so that on the former the laws respecting sacred rites and sacrifices, on the latter the regulations respecting matters profane were placed; this distinction does not rest on good authority; see Dr Philippi (Neue Jahrb. f. Phil. 1872 p. 583 n.). With fr. 28 cp. Athen. X. p. 429 A.

I will add a few words regarding the legislation of Solon.

Prof. Schoemann maintains that the nomothetae were insti-

[1] *θάνατον οὐχ ὁρίσας (Σόλων) ὥσπερ ἐκεῖνος, ἀλλ' ἀτιμίαν, ἐάν τις ἁλῷ τρὶς, ἂν δ' ἅπαξ, ζημιοῦσθαι δραχμὰς ἑκατόν.* Meier reads *ἐὰν τρὶς ἁλῷ τις*, but *ἐάν τις* is distinctly written in the MS.; after *ἁλῷ*, *τισαι* or something like it.

tuted by Solon, and defends his opinion against Grote in his 'Die Verfassungsgeschichte Athen's nach Grote's History of Greece,' 1854, and against Bake (Scholica hypomn. v. 239) in his Opuscula Acad. i. pp. 247—59. Prof. Ad. Schmidt in an essay on Pericles (Epochen und Katastrophen p. 43) considers the appointment of such a body as one of the reforms of Pericles.

From what Grote (ii. 342) says about Solon's law, which enacted that at the time of internal troubles every citizen should choose his side, we may conclude that it was repealed or fell into disuse after the revolution of Cleisthenes. That at a later time it was no longer in force we can see from Lys. xxxi. 27: *ἀκούω δ' αὐτὸν λέγειν ὡς, εἴ τι ἦν ἀδίκημα τὸ μὴ παραγενέσθαι ἐν ἐκείνῳ τῷ καιρῷ, νόμος ἂν ἔκειτο περὶ αὐτοῦ διαρρήδην, ὥσπερ καὶ περὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἀδικημάτων.*

Grote (ii. 339) and the writer of the article *κακηγορίας δίκη* in Smith's Dictionary, seem to have followed Platner (Process ii. p. 192), who thinks it probable that the law of Solon forbidding evil-speaking in a temple, or before judges, &c. on pain of a forfeit of three drachmae to the person aggrieved, and two more to the public treasury, was altered, and the heavier fine of 500 dr. substituted in the place of the smaller sum. Yet the law mentioned first and that which inflicted a fine of 500 dr. had different aims and neither could supersede the other: in the one case the sanctity of the place or occasion was impugned, in the other the personal honour of the party was concerned. Meier and Schoemann (Attischer Process, 481 foll.) make the following remarks: in the first place it was forbidden to use certain contumelious epithets (*ἀπόῤῥητα*), specified in the law, at any time or in any place; the defendant if convicted had to pay 500 dr. probably to the plaintiff (Isocr. xx. 3; Lys. x. 12), and when Midias was fined 1000 dr., this is to be explained by supposing that Demosthenes brought two actions *κακηγορίας*[1]. We do not know all the *ἀπόῤῥητα*; from

[1] i.e. as Hudtwalcker (Diaeteten, p. 150) supposes, one on his sister's and his own account, and one on account of his mother. Westermann (Quaest. Demosth. iii. 19) thinks that one action was brought against Midias and another against his brother. Prof. Schaefer (Dem. und s. Zeit ii. 86 n.) suggests that the fine was doubled, because ladies had been slandered!

Lysias it follows that *ἀνδροφόνος, ῥίψασπις, πατραλοίας, μητραλοίας* belonged to this class, but it is evident that they were not the only ones; see Dem. LVII. 30, 31: *οἱ (νόμοι) κελεύουσιν ἔνοχον εἶναι τῇ κακηγορίᾳ τὸν τὴν ἐργασίαν τὴν ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ ἢ τῶν πολιτῶν ἢ τῶν πολιτίδων ὀνειδίζοντά τινι.*

Secondly, the law forbade absolutely evil speaking with respect to the dead, and allowed the nearest relations, i.e. the heirs of the deceased, to bring an action against him who did so (Dem. XX. 104; XL. 49; Plut. Sol. 21); what penalty was inflicted on the defendant when convicted we do not know[1].

In the third place the law forbade to speak evil and use bad language to a person either in a temple, or before judges or archons, or at any public festival. The offender had to pay three dr. to the person aggrieved and two more to the public treasury (Plut. Sol. 21; cp. Plat. Leg. XI. p. 935).

Lastly, if an individual abused a magistrate, no matter where, when, or by what words, he incurred *ἀτιμία* (Dem. XXI. 32, *ἂν μὲν τοίνυν ἰδιώτην ὄντα τινὰ αὐτῶν ὑβρίσῃ τις ἢ κακῶς εἴπῃ, γραφὴν ὕβρεως καὶ δίκην κακηγορίας ἰδίαν φεύξεται, ἐὰν δὲ θεσμοθέτην, ἄτιμος ἔσται καθάπαξ*), unless the magistrate was pleased to inflict a fine only. When we read, Lys. IX. 7, *τοῦ νόμου ἀπαγορεύοντος, ἐάν τις ἀρχὴν ἐν συνεδρίῳ λοιδορῇ*, and § 9, *τοῦ νόμου διαῤῥήδην ἀγορεύοντος τοὺς ἐν τῷ συνεδρίῳ λοιδοροῦντας ζημιοῦν*, the speaker by an advocate's trick confounds the 3rd and 4th clauses. K. Fr. Hermann (Symbolae ad doctrinam juris Attici de injuriarum actionibus) puts a different construction on these passages; in his opinion if a person used one of the *ἀπόῤῥητα* to a private person, he was fined 500 dr.; but if he did so to a magistrate, he became *ἄτιμος*—on the other hand if he used foul language in general (not one of the *ἀπόῤῥητα*) to a magistrate in his place of office, the magistrate was empowered to inflict a fine[2]; a person might use foul

[1] See Hyp. fr. 108 (Lex. Rhet. Cant. 671. 8): *ἐάν τις κακῶς εἴπῃ τινὰ τῶν κατοικομένων, κἂν ὑπὸ τῶν ἐκείνου παίδων ἀκούσῃ κακῶς, πεντακοσίας καταδικασθεὶς ὤφλε τῷ δημοσίῳ, τριάκοντα δὲ τῷ ἰδιώτῃ. Ὑπερείδης δὲ ἐν τῷ κατὰ Δωροθέου χιλίαις μὲν ζημιοῦσθαι εἰ τοὺς κατοιχομένους κακηγορήσαντάς φησι, πεντακοσίαις δὲ εἰ τοὺς ζῶντας.* Schol. on Aristoph. Pax, 647, *οὐκ ἐξὴν τεθνηκότας κωμῳδεῖν.* I need not quote passages to show that this law, if it ever existed, was not observed.

[2] By English law spoken words are

language to anyone not holding a public office anywhere, except in a temple, court, or at a public festival; if he did so in these localities, he was fined five dr., which were disposed of in the way mentioned before; *τὸ γὰρ μηδαμοῦ κρατεῖν ὀργῆς ἀπαίδευτον καὶ ἀκόλαστον, τὸ δὲ πανταχοῦ χαλεπὸν, ἐνίοις δὲ ἀδύνατον*, Plut. Sol. 21; see Arist. Eth. Nic. IV. 8, 9: *οἱ δὲ νομοθέται ἔνια λοιδορεῖν κωλύουσι.* According to English law a man cannot with impunity slander another, even though the slander be true, but at Athens it appears to have been otherwise; see Lys. x. 30; Dem. XXIII. 50, and Dio Chrys. XV. 8.

The name of the author of the first clause is not mentioned, Isocrates speaking of *οἱ θέντες ἡμῖν τοὺς νόμους*; as regards the law against abusive language about trade-matters, this we may believe was ordained by Solon, who encouraged artisans and industry. The second and third clauses are ascribed to Solon by Demosthenes and Plutarch.

The bulk of this paper was written in Manchester, where there is no large library. I have to thank Professor John E. B. Mayor who allowed me the use of his private library for some days, and was also kind enough to procure me the permission of Mr Bradshaw to look at the MS. of the Lexicon Rhetoricon Cantabr.

HERMAN HAGER.

August, 1874.

not in general punishable as a crime, but there are a few exceptions, e.g. if uttered to a magistrate in the execution of his office. See Arist. Problem. XXIX. 14, *ἐὰν μέν τις ἄρχοντα κακῶς εἴπῃ, μεγάλα τὰ ἐπιτίμια, ἐὰν δέ τις ἰδιώτην, οὐδέν.*

THE LAST ELEGY OF THE THIRD OR SECOND BOOK OF PROPERTIUS.

If any one will turn to the various editions of Propertius, he will see that our elegy and others in this book are numbered in so many different ways that, to make sure of a reference being found, he would have to give at least six or seven distinct notations: for many single verses even this number would not suffice. The inconvenience has arisen in part from the second book being usually divided into two since the time of Lachmann's first edition; but still more from the strange confusion which prevails in the manuscripts with regard to the beginnings and endings and the arrangement generally of the separate elegies; so that in many places it seems impossible to make out what the drift of the poet's purpose is. This confusion and obscurity I attribute in a small degree only to his manuscripts which, as in the case of so many other Latin authors, are all of them derived from a single archetype that survived the wreck of the ancient world and seems to have lurked unknown till the age of Petrarch. Far be it from me to praise our extant authorities for the text of Propertius; but one or two of them appear to be honest attempts to reproduce what was in the original, being of course unintelligible where it was illegible or corrupt; and I believe that few, if any, plausible emendations have been made which depart very far from the traditional reading.

The more I study Propertius, the more convinced I am that the huge disorder we find in this book generally, as well as in our particular elegy, is due for the most part to the state in which the poet left his works at the time of his early death, and in which they were subsequently given to the world.

whoever their editor may have been. Propertius could scarcely have been more than thirty-four when he died about B.C. 15. Ten years at least before this time he must have published his first book, his Cynthia Monobiblos, by which he became known to Rome as one of its great elegiac poets. This book we now have in a quite intelligible and satisfactory shape; the style is peculiar and all his own, distinct from that of Tibullus on the one side and of Ovid on the other; and on the whole I prefer it decidedly to any of the later books. This early composition he often refers to; but I know of no passage in his or others' works to shew that any of the later books were published by him, at all events in the form in which we now have them. Separate elegies no doubt, perhaps whole books in some shape or other, were known to his friends, Ovid among others, and it may be to the general public; but our present elegy for example I feel convinced he kept altering and adding to, especially in its most interesting parts, until his premature death prevented him from ever finishing it.

Many causes may have fostered this backwardness. Clearly he was no ready writer as his friend Ovid was. Ovid, who was a few years younger than Propertius, had already at a very early age mastered that marvellously facile style, so unrivalled in its own peculiar way, which exercised so great an influence on all subsequent Roman poetry. He tells us himself that he was intimate with Propertius who used to read to him his love-poems. The latter would feel keenly the points in which he was inferior to his friend, not so strongly perhaps the many in which he surpassed him; and no one will dispute the great influence which Ovid's manner has had on all the later developments of Propertius' style, who ill-satisfied with himself may have gone on altering and correcting, until death stayed his hand.

Thus to come to our present elegy, the first thirty lines or so and the last ten are consecutive and have probably assumed the final shape intended by the poet, while the middle and most interesting portions are in such a state of disorder, as in their present form to defy all rational interpretation. These portions it seems to me Propertius went on altering and adding

to, and the copy which he left behind him was not fully understood by those who undertook to publish it. Much of the poem may I think be so rearranged as to assume a satisfactory and intelligible shape, though the poet may not have completed his final revision: some of the lines in the part about Virgil are manifestly incomplete and fragmentary. How Hertzberg can find in the elegy as we now have it a perfect and well-digested whole, is to me a marvel; but, much as I admire his industry and research, I will not conceal my opinion that in every critical and exegetical difficulty his editorial skill almost invariably breaks down. Once however, IV (III) 7 (6), 22, he has made a brilliant and in my judgment certain emendation: 'Argynni poena Athamantiadae.' Lachmann in that very early work, his larger edition of Propertius, has made several transpositions of verses, one of them true so far as it goes and properly adopted by Mueller, the others all unsatisfactory. In his mature critical edition of 1829 he has designedly abstained from all such attempts.

I will now print the greater part of our elegy as it is found in the manuscripts, tacitly adopting such corrections by former editors as appear to be certain, and marking with an obelus those about which I have something to say. I will then shew what I think may be done for the right understanding of the poem by transposition and other methods, whether of emendation or of interpretation. The first 22 verses, in which the poet reproaches his friend Lynceus for attempting, when heated with wine, to abuse his confidence and gain favour with Cynthia, I need not print: I will only say that in v. 1 *amico* for *amori* seems a necessary correction: that I do not see why in v. 14 Mueller and Paley should demur to *tantum te modo tolle* for *tantummodo te tolle*, such separations being found even in prose: Quintilian in I 12 5 has *quodam tamen modo*, though he elsewhere writes *quodammodo* as others do: Cicero says *magnoque opere;* Lucretius *saepe est numero factum;* Virgil *hac Troiana tenus*, and the like: in 19 *meae...umbrae* would not be a harsh correction for the strange accusative, as the *s* of *solus* might have attached itself to *meae;* and the singular is the common usage for a man's own shadow.

sed numquam vitae fallet me ruga severae:
omnes iam norunt quam sit amare bonum.
Lynceus ipse meus seros insanit amores:
solum te nostros laetor adire deos.
quid tua Socraticis tibi nunc sapientia libris
proderit, aut rerum dicere posse vias?
aut quid Erechthei tibi prosunt carmina lecta?
nil iuvat in magno vester amore senex.
tu satius † memorem musis imitere Philetan
et non inflati somnia Callimachi.
nam cursus licet Aetoli referas Acheloi,
fluxerit ut magno † factus amore liquor;
atque etiam ut Phrygio fallax Maeandria campo
errat et ipsa suas decipit unda vias;
qualis et Adrasti fuerit vocalis Arion
tristis ad Archemori funera victor equos.
†non Amphiaraeae prosint tibi fata quadrigae
aut Capanei magno grata ruina Iovi.
desine et Aeschyleo componere verba cothurno,
desine, et ad molles membra resolve choros.
incipe iam angusto versus includere torno,
inque tuos ignes, dure poeta, veni.
tu non Antimacho, non tutior ibis Homero:
despicit et magnos recta puella deos.
sed non ante gravi taurus succumbit aratro,
cornua quam validis haeserit in laqueis,
nec tu tam duros per te patieris amores:
trux tamen a nobis ante domandus eris.
harum nulla solet rationem quaerere mundi,
nec cur fraternis luna laboret equis,
nec si post Stygias aliquid †restabit erumnas (restaverit undas)
nec si consulto fulmina missa tonent.
aspice me, cui parva domi fortuna relicta est,
nullus et antiquo Marte triumphus avi,
ut regnem mixtas inter conviva puellas
hoc ego, quo tibi nunc elevor, ingenio.
me iuvet hesternis positum languere corollis,
quem tetigit iactu certus ad ossa deus,
Actia Vergilium custodis litora Phoebi,
Caesaris et fortes dicere posse rates,
qui nunc Aeneae Troiani suscitat arma
iactaque Lavinis moenia litoribus.
cedite, Romani scriptores, cedite Grai:
nescio quid maius nascitur Iliade.
tu canis umbrosi subter pineta Galaesi
Thyrsin et attritis Daphnin harundinibus,
utque decem possint corrumpere mala puellas,
missus et inpressis haedus ab uberibus.

felix, qui viles pomis mercaris amores!
72 huic licet ingratae Tityrus ipse canat.
felix intactum Corydon qui temptat Alexin
74 agricolae domini carpere delicias!
quamvis ille sua lassus requiescat avena,
76 laudatur faciles inter Hamadryadas.
tu canis Ascraei veteris praecepta poetae,
78 quo seges in campo, quo viret uva iugo.
tale facis carmen, docta testudine quale
80 Cynthius impositis temperat articulis.
non tamen haec ulli venient ingrata legenti,
82 sive in amore rudis sive peritus erit;
† nec minor his animis aut si minor ore canorus
84 anseris indocto carmine cessit olor.
haec quoque perfecto ludebat Iasone Varro,
86 Varro Leucadiae maxima flamma suae.
haec quoque lascivi cantarunt scripta Catulli,
88 Lesbia quis ipsa notior est Helena.
haec etiam docti confessa est pagina Calvi,
90 cum caneret miserae funera Quintiliae.
et modo formosa quam multa Lycoride Gallus
92 mortuus inferna vulnera lavit aqua!
Cynthia quin etiam versu laudata Properti,
94 hos inter si me ponere fama volet.

The first few of the above verses are plain enough: he has his revenge on his elderly friend Lynceus, a philosopher and poet, for the wrong he had done him; as Lynceus has now fallen hopelessly in love. Of what avail now his philosophy or his study of Aeschylus. In the next verses, 31—38, he advises him to imitate the Αἴτια of Callimachus, and these might seem to be in their proper place; but I think a still better place may be found for them. 39 is corrupt and no correction or explanation that I have seen connects 39 and 40 in a satisfactory way with what precedes and follows. For in 41 he bids him cease to write in the style of Aeschylus *too;* but in 29 he had asked him of what use to him now was the reading of the plays of the Athenian old man, that is Aeschylus as I maintain. Paley on 29 says the objection to his being Aeschylus is this v. 41. And with the present order this is a fatal objection, and Lynceus has accordingly been made into an epic as well as a tragic poet, and many strange conjectures have been devised: Cretaei, Crethei, Lucreti, epe Chii, etc.

But I believe that a better arrangement will prove that Aeschylus is the Athenian old man. Next in 43 and 44 he urges him to write love-poems and approach at length his flame; and then in 45, 46, he tells him he will be no safer than Homer and Antimachus, both of whom according to the story he follows suffered from hopeless or unfortunate love: surely not the way to encourage Lynceus at this point. Then 47—50 connect themselves at once with 44; but not with 45, 46. Then in 51 what does *harum* refer to? Lachmann in his first edition saw that this has reference to the *puella* of 46 and that 51—54 should join on to 46; and in this he is rightly followed by Mueller. But neither his nor Mueller's arrangement does more than set right this single point. 55 and what follows ought to come immediately after 50. I will now print the whole of these verses, 23—58, arranged in the order which I think they ought to have and with the corrupt passages corrected. I will next attempt to give a coherent explanation of them; and then go on to the remainder of the elegy.

sed numquam vitae fallet me ruga severae:
24 omnes iam norunt quam sit amare bonum.
Lynceus ipse meus seros insanit amores:
26 solum te nostros laetor adire deos.
quid tua Socraticis tibi nunc sapientia libris
28 proderit, aut rerum dicere posse vias?
aut quid Erechthei tibi prosunt carmina lecta?
30 nil iuvat in magno vester amore senex.
45 [tu non Antimacho, non tutior ibis Homero:
46 despicit et magnos recta puella deos.]
51 [harum nulla solet rationem quaerere mundi,
52 nec cur fraternis luna laboret equis,
nec si post Stygias aliquid rest arbiter undas,
54 nec si consulto fulmina missa tonent.]
41 [desine et Aeschyleo componere verba cothurno,
42 desine, et ad molles membra resolve choros:]
39 [Amphiaraëae prosint tibi fata quadrigae?
40 aut Capanei magno grata ruina Iovi?]
31 [tu satius Meropem musis imitere Philetan
32 et non inflati somnia Callimachi.
nam cursus licet Aetoli referas Acheloi,
34 fluxerit ut magno fractus amore liquor;
atque etiam ut Phrygio fallax Maeandria campo
36 errat et ipsa suas decipit unda vias;

qualis et Adrasti fuerit vocalis Arion
38 tristis ad Archemori funera victor equos.]
43 [incipe iam angusto versus includere torno,
44 inque tuos ignes, dure poeta, veni.]
47 [sed non ante gravi taurus succumbit aratro,
48 cornua quam validis haeserit in laqueis,
nec tu tam duros per te patieris amores:
50 trux tamen a nobis ante domandus eris.]
55 aspice me, cui parva domi fortuna relicta est,
56 nullus et antiquo Marte triumphus avi,
ut regnem mixtas inter conviva puellas
58 hoc ego, quo tibi nunc elevor, ingenio.

23 foll.: 'I will never be cheated by an affected austerity of life, like that of Lynceus, for all now, he included, know the blessings of love. My Lynceus late in life plunges madly into love: I rejoice that you, sole recusant, are becoming a votary of our gods'.—For that seems to me to be the force of *solum te,* with a reference to *omnes iam*: Paley's explanation I cannot quite catch the meaning of: *insanit amores* is a cognate accusative, like Horace's *insanire errorem,* and *sollemnia.* 27 foll.: 'Of what avail now your wisdom learnt from the writings of the Socratic school, or your power to describe the course of nature? Or of what avail your study of the Athenian's poems? your aged favourite helps not in violent love'. The ablative *Socraticis libris* I will speak of afterwards: as the two best Mss. have, one of them *Erethei,* the other *Erechti, Erechthei* may be looked on as the real Ms. reading, and it suits, as we shall see, the context admirably, when the verses are arranged in their proper order. It is enough that Lynceus should be a natural and moral philosopher and a tragic poet, without making him an epic poet as well. Mueller's *epe Chii* will satisfy I fancy few but himself: *epe* indeed might well have been used by Propertius, as Lucretius twice has *mele,* a nearer parallel than *cete, pelage* or *tempe* which he cites; but *epe Chii, carmina,* form a meaningless apposition: *vester,* the favourite of you and your circle. Then 45, 46 follow most appropriately: 'why should you, philosopher and poet though you be, hope to be safer in love than the very greatest of poets, Homer and Antimachus, who both suffered grievously

from love: a straight-limbed girl scorns the gods themselves'. Hermesianax of Colophon, the favourite pupil of Philetas of Cos, would naturally be an authority with Propertius: there is a long fragment of his quoted by Athenaeus, p. 597, in which he depicts the woes which the greatest poets and philosophers had suffered from love, among them Homer and Antimachus. 46 *recta*: so Catullus 86 'Quintia formosa est multis, mihi candida, longa, Recta est': Horace sat. I 2 123 'Candida rectaque sit': Hertzberg's explanation of *recta*, though adopted by Paley, strikes me as very odd. 51 foll.: 'Much less then will any of these care for you and your philosophy: why the moon is in travail by the default of her brother's horses; whether beyond the waters of Styx an awarder of doom is in truth a real thing; whether providence sends the thunder'. Of the ablative *fraternis equis* I will speak by and bye: of 53 I must say something now: five years ago I gave in this journal, vol. 2 p. 143, the same reading that I now offer; yet Mr Paley attributes to me *aliquis re est*: Wassenbergh's *restabimus undas*, followed by so many, gives an excellent sense; but does not represent the Ms. reading as mine does: the best Ms. N has *restabit*, the end of the line being lost, as in 83: the next best have *restabit erumnas* and *restaverit undas*, readings easily explained by *rest arbiter undas*: *rest* (i. e. re est) was not familiar to the copyists who nearly always corrupt this enclitic *st*; they therefore first wrote *restabit* and the other corruptions followed at once: *arbiter* was read by Jacob, but his *aliquis sedet* has no probability: with the sentiment compare IV (III) 5 39 'Sub terris sint iura deum et tormenta nocentum'; and with the expression *aliquid re est* compare Propertius' own 'Sunt aliquid Manes: letum non omnia finit'; Ovid's 'Omina sunt aliquid'; 'Aut sine re nomen deus est'; Cic. nat. deor. III 53 'qui hos deos ex hominum genere in caelum translatos non re, sed opinione esse dicunt'. Mark the indicative *est* in a dependent clause between the subjunctives of the preceding and the following verse: exactly the same occurs in vv. 34, 36, 37; *fluxerit, errat, decipit, fuerit.* It is a curious feature of Propertius' style that he deliberately prefers in such cases to mix indicatives and subjunctives and clauses without a verb:

compare especially IV (III) 5 (4), 25—46, where, as here, he is speaking of natural phenomena: there we find eleven dependent clauses with indicatives, seven with subjunctives and as many without any verb, all mixed together without any apparent reason for such diversity: thus in 33 'Aut cur Perrhaebi *tremuere* cacumina Pindi, Solis et atratis *luxerit* orbis equis': 40 'Tisiphones atro *si furit* angue caput' much resembles our present verse.

To proceed, 41, 42, 39 and 40 now come in admirably to the purpose: your ethics and physics go for nothing with women, your tragedies will serve you just as little: 'cease likewise to match words to the Aeschylean buskin, and unbend rather your limbs in the soft dance': this will help you more than your strutting and fretting in the stiff buskin: would the writing an Aeschylean tragedy on the fate of Amphiaraus and Capaneus help you to win your lady's love?—Now that the verse has its proper sequence, my correction of 39 seems very simple; the expulsion merely of the unmetrical *non* and making the sentence interrogative: when the line lost its proper connexion and a question seemed out of place, this *non* would naturally be appended to give an appearance of sense.

Though 31—38 might, independently of other considerations, seem in place where the Mss. put them, they are, if I am not mistaken, still more appropriate here: if you must write verse, abandon your pompous tragedies and take to elegy: 'far better for you to imitate with your muses the Coan Philetas and the dream of Callimachus, so free from Aeschylean bombast'. If you must have mythical themes, leave Aeschylus and go to the Aetia or 'Causes' of Callimachus, revealed to him in that famous dream: there you may select for imitation any subject you like, heroic or divine: choose, if you please, the loves of Achelous, or the windings of Maeander, or the famous victory won by Adrastus' speech-endowed horse Arion at the funeral of Archemorus, when the chiefs founded the Nemean games: Ἅ *μέγα Βαττιάδαο σοφοῦ περίπυστον ὄνειαρ,* Ἦ ῥ' *ἐτεὸν κεράων, οὐδ' ἐλέφαντος ἔης·* Τοῖα *γὰρ ἄμμιν ἔφηνας, ἅτ' οὐ πάρος ἀνέρες ἴδμεν,* Ἀμφὶ *τε ἀθανάτους ἀμφί τε ἡμιθέους κ.τ.λ.* (Anthol. Pal. VII 42). Of these

Aetia or Causes of Callimachus, once so famous, of which hardly a trace now remains, a very copious discussion is given by Schneider in his edition of Callimachus, vol. 2 p. 35—140. They must have been a long and tiresome poem, though to the taste of Propertius, as we may infer from his style generally, as well as from his professed imitations of them in his last book. Martial, who in his likings had so little in common with Propertius, speaks of them, in x 4, as the model of a frigid unreal poem. It is not easy to guess why Propertius should have selected these topics out of the great mass, as only the first of them seems to have much connexion with love: perhaps he pitches on Archemorus, Arion and the Nemean games, as a fitting subject for Lynceus' elegiacs on account of their close mythical connexion with Amphiaraus and Capaneus, whose story he took for a tragedy: if he will choose such subjects, he may treat of them in elegy as well as tragedy. Paley I think gives the right construction of 37 and 38, though perhaps *Tristia* should be read with Broukhusius. Hercules would perhaps be the hero of the first two narratives, in his relations to Deianira and Iole: in 34 Heinsius' *tactus* may be the true reading, but I prefer *fractus*. With the position I have assigned to 31, Bergk's brilliant emendation *Meropem* for the unmeaning *memorem* is all that is needed to restore this verse: Philetas is preeminently the Coan poet: at the beginning of the next elegy we find *Coi sacra Philetae* and Ovid calls him *Cous poeta*: the learned *Meropem* is just in Propertius' manner; and thus Meleager calls himself *ἀστὸν* Μερόπων: *musis* too now assumes its proper force: compare Statius silv. IV 4 87 'Nunc si forte meis quae sint exordia musis Scire petis', and Horace's 'Pindaricae Ceaeque et Alcaei minaces Stesichorique graves camenae': the poet is supposed to create his own muses: IV (III) 1 9 'a me Nata coronatis musa triumphat equis'; and Virgil ecl. 8, 1 and 5 'Pastorum musam Damonis et Alphesiboei... Damonis musam dicemus et Alphesiboei': Mueller has shewn that *satius imitere* can be said for *satius est imitari* or *ut imitere*.

43, 44: Delay no longer, 'begin even now your elegiac distichs, and approach your flame, harsh tragic poet': on *includere torno* see Hertzberg and Paley: I do not think that

Horace's *male tornatos incudi reddere versus* should be made to recommend *incudere* here: on the *dure poeta* too in opposition to the *mollis poeta* of elegy see Hertzberg; but the *durus* here is said of the tragic not the epic poet.—But (47—50) as the bull must first be broken in before he will submit to the yoke, so you will not of yourself submit to a love so cruel: 'however restive, you will first have to be tamed by me'. The *tam duros amores* of 49, the *tuos ignes* of 44, and the *seros insanit amores* of 25 are all in close connexion.—'Well then (55—58) look on me, who after the confiscations of the civil wars have but a small property left and who can boast of no ancestral triumphs, and see how at the feast I am king among the ladies through this very genius, for which you make so light of me *now*, before you have been broken in'.—Of the ablative *antiquo Marte* I will speak by and bye: with *mixtas inter puellas* compare Virgil ecl. 10 55 *mixtis lustrabo Maenala nymphis.*

I have thus endeavoured to explain one portion of our poem which had always presented insuperable difficulties to my mind, until I thought of the method of transposition, for which I have given above what strikes me as a natural explanation. With these transpositions all in a moment became clear to my mind. It is probable, nay from the nature of the case almost certain, that some of the lines were added by the poet at very different times, and 39, 40, 31—38, and perhaps 47—50, might all for instance be struck out without much damage to the general argument of the elegy: the poet too may have meditated further changes; but with no other disposition can I make a consistent whole out of the verses we have; and this result I think I have attained by my present arrangement. The changes too made in the actual words of the Mss. are of the very slighest, but four I think in all, two corrections of my own, two after others, of most manifest corruptions. I now go on to examine the remainder of the elegy, a large portion of which, the lines I mean in which Virgil is eulogised, has evidently been left unfinished. For observe how in v. 67, without the slightest connexion or gradation of language or thought, the poet passes from the Aeneid to the

eclogues, from the third person to the second; then back again to the third; and once more in 77, with the same entire absence of connexion and gradation, to the second person and to the georgics, while v. 81 has no reference to what immediately precedes. This part also of the elegy I will first print in the shape in which, as it appears to me, it may have been left by the poet; and will then offer such explanations as may seem advisable.

me iuvet hesternis positum languere corollis,
quem tetigit iactu certus ad ossa deus,
Actia Vergilium custodis litora Phoebi,
Caesaris et fortes dicere posse rates,
qui nunc Aeneae Troiani suscitat arma
iactaque Lavinis moenia litoribus.
cedite, Romani scriptores, cedite Grai:
nescio quid maius nascitur Iliade.
[tu canis umbrosi subter pineta Galaesi
Thyrsin et attritis Daphnin harundinibus,
utque decem possint corrumpere mala puellas,
missus et inpressis haedus ab uberibus.
felix, qui viles pomis mercaris amores!
huic licet ingratae Tityrus ipse canat.]
[felix intactum Corydon qui temptat Alexin
agricolae domini carpere delicias!]
quamvis ille sua lassus requiescat avena,
laudatur faciles inter Hamadryadas.
[tu canis Ascraei veteris praecepta poetae,
quo seges in campo, quo viret uva iugo.
tale facis carmen, docta testudine quale
Cynthius impositis temperat articulis.]
non tamen haec ulli venient ingrata legenti,
sive in amore rudis sive fidelis erit;
nec minor his—(animis haut, si minor ore)—canorus
anseris indocto carmine cessit olor.
haec quoque perfecto ludebat Iasone Varro,
Varro Leucadiae maxima flamma suae.
haec quoque lascivi cantarunt scripta Catulli,
Lesbia quis ipsa notior est Helena.
haec etiam docti confessa est pagina Calvi,
cum caneret miserae funera Quintiliae.
et modo formosa quam multa Lycoride Gallus
mortuus inferna vulnera lavit aqua!
Cynthia quin etiam versu laudata Properti,
hos inter si me ponere fama volet.

59 foll.: He now quits Lynceus and turns to Virgil and others who have sung of their loves: the transition itself though sudden and abrupt has nothing incoherent in it. Be it for me, he says, to lie exhausted, crowned with the chaplets of yesterday, for Virgil to tell of the victory of Actium, Virgil who is now singing the fortunes of Aeneas: 'ay, something greater than the Iliad is at its birth', above all Greek, above all Roman fame.—So far good; but in what follows Hertzberg alone I fancy, who can see his way through any words, could find symmetry and coherency. Paley may well say 'there is some truth in Lachmann's complaint that the sense is incoherent'; though Lachmann's transpositions only make matters worse. For the poet to pass suddenly from the third to the second person is quite in his usual manner; and he intended no doubt that 67—80 should in some shape or other follow 66; but surely not in the shape and condition in which they now are: he must have meant to connect in some way the thought and the expression with what goes before. 67—80 then I believe to be in a fragmentary state, never properly welded by the poet into one mass with what precedes and follows. Many of these lines may have been composed before the preceding verses on the Aeneid, perhaps when the eclogues and georgics had not been long published. For I feel most strongly that these verses are in Propertius' first manner, in the style of his first book. 'You sing', he says, 'beneath the pinewoods of Galaesus of Thyrsis and Daphnis on your well-worn pipes, and how ten apples can seduce the girls, and a kid sent from its dam's unmilked udder'. We have no cause to question what Propertius says of Virgil's writing some of his eclogues near Tarentum, as he had better means of knowing than we can have, and Virgil himself (georg. IV 125) speaks of having been at Tarentum, and the *memini vidisse* would seem to imply a time somewhat distant. I should like to know where the *villula Sironis* was, where Virgil (catal. 10) speaks of himself and his father taking refuge: they must have been away from Andes during at least a part of those terrible years when they and other Mantuans lost and regained and lost again their lands. When I was at Tarentum some months ago, it struck me how much better the

scenery, flora and silva of those parts suited many of the eclogues than did the neighbourhood of Mantua. As we however as well as Propertius possess the eclogues, the allusions to them need not be taken on trust.

In the eclogues nothing whatever is said of 'the sending a kid taken from its dam's unmilked udder', which 70 records. As to 69 again, apples are sent by Virgil to a boy, not to a woman: this might seem a natural oversight, if the poet did not himself in the next lines emphasise his mistake: 'happy you who can so cheaply buy your love with some apples! to such a cruel one Tityrus himself well may deign to sing': to one at heart so simple and disinterested that a few apples can win her, in contrast with the rapacious Cynthia and the Roman ladies generally. For this looks like a pointed reference to his own words in III (II) 7 (16), 15 'Ergo muneribus quivis mercatur amorem? Iuppiter, indigna merce puella perit...Atque utinam Romae nemo esset dives...Numquam venales essent ad munus amicae'. Tityrus at the worst will lose nothing. The poet's general drift seems plain enough here: Tityrus is at the same time Virgil's representative shepherd and Virgil himself as bucolic poet; though I believe that Propertius had dimly before his mind, together with this, some vague recollections of Galatea in the first eclogue, but so vague as not to influence much the general turn of his thought: nay even the 'ingratae' of 72 may be a wrong impression and false reminiscence of Virgil's 'ingratae premeretur caseus urbi'. The next two lines are much more distinct in their reference, though the motive of *Felix* is not so clear: Corydon's passion was both violent and utterly unsuccessful. Propertius however may have been thinking of the poet rather who sang, and also of the same or another Corydon of a later eclogue, victorious and triumphant, who sings of the same or another 'formosus Alexis'. At the same time the two verses do seem to interrupt the connexion of the poem; for the *ille* of 75 is very harsh, if it do not refer to Tityrus of 72, who represents as I have said Virgil himself. 'Though he rest weary from his oaten pipe, he has fame among the kindly Hamadryads', the woodland goddesses, patronesses of bucolic song, for there is no 'allusion to the georgics' here:

the Hamadryads inhabit the wild mountain-forests, the great pasture-grounds of Greece and Italy. In the two other passages where they are mentioned by Propertius, they are roaming in the hill-pastures of Bithynia and Ida: see too the 10th eclogue itself, where in v. 55 we find 'mixtis lustrabo Maenala nymphis', and then in 62 'Iam neque Hamadryades rursus nec carmina nobis Ipsa placent: ipsae rursus concedite, silvae', referring, as Conington says, to the nymphs of 55, and this is the only place in Virgil where the name occurs; and when the 'cessit' of 84 is taken into consideration, there is little doubt that Propertius had this passage in his thoughts; for this v. 76 is in immediate connexion, as we shall see presently, with 81—84: *faciles* is perhaps a reminiscence of the 'faciles nymphae risere' of ecl. 3.

But this connexion is broken by the strangely abrupt introduction of 77—80: in this Journal, vol. 2 p. 142, I wrote five years ago 'the way in which the poet passes to and fro from the third to the second person, and then from the second to the third, then back again to the second, and still once more to the third in addressing Virgil, is intolerably harsh even for him. And after asserting in vv. 77—80 that the georgics are as perfect a poem as Apollo himself could compose, it is quite ludicrous to go on to say that yet this poem will not be unwelcome to any reader, whether new to love or not. Why, what more in the world would a reader have, and what have the georgics to do with teaching love?' I added that much of the absurdity would disappear, if with Professor Ribbeck we put 77—80 between 66 and 67. This I still think true as far as it goes; but it would cure but a small part of the mischief; and I now look upon the lines on the eclogues and these on the georgics as two unfinished fragments which Propertius at his death had not yet welded together with what precedes and follows. As 77—80 however so manifestly interrupt the sequence and sense of the poem, I have printed it as a separate fragment side by side with the lines on the eclogues; though I believe that in a final revision Propertius would certainly have put them before these. It may be remarked that Propertius touches only on the themes of the first georgic and of

a portion of the second: had he read the last two when he first wrote down these verses?

81—84 then are in close connexion with 76, and *ulli legenti* is emphatic and in contrast to *faciles:* the kindly Hamadryads do I say; 'nay, to *no* reader will these poems of love, the eclogues, come unwelcome, whether he be a tiro, or a veteran in love'. The force of *tamen* here is the same as that which I have abundantly illustrated in my note on Lucretius v 1177 *Et tamen omnino*: some of the passages there given have been tampered with by eminent critics from their not perceiving that when *tamen* is thus used, something must always be supplied in thought. Then of 83, 84 Mueller says 'haec nondum cuiquam expedire contigit'. Hertzberg, who will construe through any given combination of words, finds all plain, and says that *his animis = horum carminum animis* 'trita nostro pronominis demonstrativi enallage': as if, because *illa fides* can be said for *illius rei fides, hic dolor* for *huius rei dolor,* and the like, therefore *his animis* can mean *horum carminum animis:* put the singular *hoc animo* for *horum carminum animo* and the absurdity will be patent: next he makes *cessit carmine* the same as *cessit carmini*! indeed his whole explanation conveys to me no meaning. With *haut* for *aut,* (scarcely to be called a change, as I have observed that in four out of six other instances one or other or both of the chief Mss. give the more familiar *aut* for the rarer *haut,*) all seems to me clear: *his* in its very emphatic position, preceded by one *haec* with the same meaning, and with three other *haec*'s, with precisely the same force, at the beginning of the three following distichs, can surely stand alone: 'and not inferior in these poems to what he is in the Aeneid and georgics—(in their high spirit not, if may-be less lofty in tone and language)—the melodious swan has not taken himself off with the unskilled song of a goose': has not in his eclogues, now complete, turned out a goose instead of a swan, as he himself playfully intimates: of course, as all have seen, a manifest reference to the 'Nam neque adhuc Vario videor nec dicere Cinna Digna, sed argutos inter strepere anser olores'; and the *carmine* makes it probable that he too saw in Virgil's words a sarcasm on the poet Anser.

Here the plural *animis* has its usual force when said of a single person or thing: thus Propertius has elsewhere 'animi venere Deci', 'I nunc tolle animos et tecum finge triumphos', and 'animos Carthaginis altae': Virgil is very fond of thus using it; and Ovid says 'Non oblita animorum, annorum oblita suorum'. There is probably an allusion in this 'animis haut, si minor ore' to ecl. 6 3 'Cum canerem reges et proelia, Cynthius aurem Vellit et admonuit: Pastorem, Tityre, pinguis Pascere oportet ovis, *deductum* dicere *carmen*'; and perhaps to 4 1—3: *cessit* has its primitive sense, *concessit, discessit, abscessit,* as in Cic. pro Mil. 93 'ego cedam atque abibo', and in Propertius himself more than once: I 20 31 'Iam Pandioniae cessit genus Orithyiae'; I 3 1 'Qualis Thesea iacuit cedente carina cet.' after Catullus 64 249; and V 9 53 'lucoque abscede verendo; Cede agedum'. In this verse therefore he repeats in another form the 'ille sua lassus requiescat avena'.

I have now to say something of the ablative 'indocto carmine cessit' and of six other ablatives in our elegy: Propertius on this head goes perhaps farther than most writers: thus the simple ablative here has the force of *cum carmine,* or *comitatus carmine:* so in v. 59 'hesternis positum languere corollis' has the force of *cum* or *coronatus hesternis corollis*: so I 7 26 'Saepe venit magno fenore tardus amor' i.e. *auctus* or *cum magno fenore,* and probably IV (III) 22 13 'Qua rudis Argoa natat inter saxa columba...pinus' has the sense of *comitata* or *cum Argoa columba:* Virg. ecl. 10 24 'Venit et agresti capitis Silvanus honore' closely resembles our 'hesternis languere corollis' and Juvenal 11 106 'clipeo venientis et hasta' is like our other passage.

Propertius greatly extends too the use of the instrumental or modal ablative in five passages of our present elegy: 27 'Socraticis tua nunc sapientia libris' i.e. quae S. l. parta est; 52 'Nec cur fraternis luna laboret equis' i.e. fraternis equis terra interceptis: perhaps like Virgil's 'Cum placidum ventis staret mare' and similar passages: 56 'Nullus et antiquo Marte triumphus avi' i.e. Marte partus, resembling the ablative of 27; 75 'sua lassus requiescat avena' i.e. posita sua avena is like the ablative of 52. Harsher perhaps than any of these is

the instrumental ablative of 91 where 'formosa Lycoride' depends on 'vulnera' i.e. quam multa vulnera per (*or* propter) formosam Lycorida accepta: 'and how many wounds from the beauty of Lycoris has Gallus now dead just bathed in the waters of the nether world': it is absurd to join the ablative with 'Mortuus' and make Gallus die for Lycoris, when at the moment this was written the world must have been ringing with the cause and manner of his death; nor must 'Gallus' be tampered with: the last ten lines of the poem gain much of their point by each of the five hexameters closing with the name of the poet celebrated: Varro—Catulli—Calvi—Gallus—Properti; and this effect is enhanced by the female names, Lesbia—Helena—Quintiliae—Cynthia, each beginning or terminating a line, and by the junction of 'Varro Leucadiae'—'Lycoride Gallus'. In the part of the Tristia, from which we shall cite presently other imitations, Ovid concludes similar verses with Catullo—Calvi—Lycorida Gallo.

I have already remarked how much emphasis is given to the *haec* of 81 and the *his* of 83 by the 'Haec quoque—Haec quoque—Haec etiam' which commence the three following distichs. He mentions here Varro Atacinus before his more renowned contemporaries Catullus and Calvus, who also became famous some years earlier, because there was a more exact parallel between him and Virgil: Virgil has completed his love-poems, the eclogues, and is now engaged on the Aeneid; while Varro first finished his epic, or Argonautics, and then wrote love-poems about Leucadia. The only other passage where these love-poems are spoken of seems to be Ovid trist. II 439 'Is quoque, Phasiacas Argo qui duxit in undas, Non potuit veneris furta tacere suae', a reminiscence of Propertius, as a few lines before, 'Sic sua lascivo cantata est saepe Catullo Femina, cui falsum Lesbia nomen erat', he is clearly imitating the two next verses of Propertius. We may perhaps infer that Varro's love-poems, like Virgil's, were written in hexameters. He then mentions in order his three celebrated predecessors in the elegiac love-poetry, Catullus who has made his Lesbia more famous than Helen, Calvus who mourned the death of his wife Quintilia, and Gallus just dead. Tibullus, a few years older than himself,

he does not mention, as he was still living, and except in the case of one so preeminent as Virgil, 'praestantia candor Nomina vivorum dissimulare iubet': perhaps too he scarcely then knew Tibullus or his writings, as Tibullus belonged to the circle of Messalla, Propertius to that of Maecenas. He modestly concludes by saying that Cynthia too has won praise by the verse of Propertius, if fame shall see good to place him among his forerunners. These words are of themselves sufficient to refute many old and recent commentators who refer the *haec* of 81 to Propertius' own verses: in that case he would say there that his poems will be welcome to every reader whatever, while here he doubts whether he will attain to fame. The symmetry too of all this part of the elegy would be destroyed by such an interpretation which for many other reasons it appears to me impossible to accept.

I may seem to have dissected our elegy with unnecessary prolixity; but I could not explain my views in a way to satisfy either myself or others without going into very considerable detail. If the line of criticism which I have followed up should turn out to have any value, it will apply I feel sure to many of the other poems as well. Propertius is one of the obscurest and most difficult of Latin writers; but much of the blame which he has had to bear for incoherent and unintelligible language, may thus be removed from the poet's account and put to the score of unpropitious circumstances. It will be seen that the corrections which I have made, either of myself or after others, in the text as transmitted by the manuscripts are of the slightest and simplest kind. The perplexities therefore which we encounter on all hands I attribute for the most part not to them nor to the single archetype from which they all come nor to any predecessor of that archetype, but mainly to the unfinished and fragmentary state in which the poet left his writings, when overtaken by a premature death, and to the unskilful and careless way in which these writings were first given to the world. The logical and grammatical want of connexion which we meet with in the transmitted text has too much of method in it to have arisen from an accidental dislocation of verses in a manuscript.

I will take this opportunity of discussing some other passages of Propertius:

1. I 6 31—34

At tu, seu mollis qua tendit Ionia seu qua
Lydia Pactoli tingit arata liquor,
seu pedibus terras seu pontum carpere remis
ibis, et accepti pars eris imperii.

In the elegy from which these lines are quoted Propertius refuses to leave Cynthia and follow in the suite of a friend Tullus who had received some *imperium*, to enable him it would appear to settle the disorders of the province of Asia, then in a disturbed and disorganised state. Most of the editors old and recent whom I have consulted with the exception of Hertzberg and Paley look upon the last of the lines quoted above as certainly or probably corrupt. Lachmann and Mueller condemn it unreservedly: the older editors who deem it a duty to explain such words as they have before them doubtingly suggest that *pars* may be for *particeps*, or *imperii* may be for *imperantium*, and *accepti* may be *grati* or *a te accepti*. Hertzberg, free from all misgivings, says 'corruptum locum omnes existimaverunt: frustra; nam *pars eris imperii* idem est quod unus imperantium...*accepti* autem est *grati*.' And this explanation is adopted by Paley; who at the same time is ready to admit the other interpretation, 'accepti a te.' Such explanations convey to my mind hardly any meaning: I have met with 'imperia, potestates, legationes', the abstract for the concrete; but 'pars imperii' for 'unus imperantium' is to me inexplicable. Mr Palmer in the Hermathena, vol. I p. 157, while taking 'pars imperii' in this sense, says of *accepti* 'Mr Paley's explanation is inconsistent with *pars:* at least he should have explained how a man can be said to form a part of an office received by himself. The same objection applies to Hertzberg's interpretation'. He thinks that *accepti* means 'accepti a sociis': 'you will form one unit in the governing class received

(or welcomed) by our allies'; and cites Juvenal 8 87 'Expectata diu tandem provincia cum te Rectorem accipiet'. But as Tullus had not yet left Italy, (the first line of the elegy is 'Non ego nunc Hadriae vereor mare noscere tecum, Tulle',) the poet ought then to say something to this purpose 'pars eris imperii, quod, cum venerit, socii accipient.' Now to say nothing of the omission of all reference to the *socii*, surely if tenses have any distinctions whatever, *accepti imperii* should mean 'a governing staff which has been received or welcomed' not 'which will be received or welcomed': any attempt to get over this difficulty will only bring us back to the discarded *grati*.

In truth the whole expression is to my mind almost meaningless; and I feel sure that but for this verse no one would have maintained that Tullus, whoever he was, was only some subordinate of his uncle or of some other imperator; for 19 'Tu patrui meritas conare antire secures Et vetera oblitis iura refer sociis' seems to imply that he was to endeavour, as supreme governor, to surpass the glory won by his uncle formerly in some similar office and to restore law and order among the provincials. I entirely agree therefore with Lachmann that the verse is corrupt: he reads 'et accepti sors erit imperii': Mueller not without reason says that something is still wanting and reads 'ut accepti sors erit'. This is so wide a departure from the Ms. reading as to make the chances against it very great; nor does this correction in itself much commend itself to me.

When consulting the Mss. of any Latin author, I nearly always find that they have a great tendency to substitute for *par* the somewhat more familiar *pars;* and many years ago it struck me that we should read 'et accepto par eris imperio': when *par* became *pars*, the dative might easily become a genitive. But afterwards it occurred to me that a much better and more probable correction would be 'et acceptis par eris imperii', transferring the *s* of *pars* to *accepti:* 'and will prove (as I am sure you will) equal to the debts, the obligations, which your *imperium* lays upon you': in receiving such a dignity, you have incurred a deep obligation which I am sure you will discharge like an honourable man. This metaphor

seems a very natural one: Cic. Laelius 58 'hoc quidem est nimis exigue et exiliter ad calculos vocare amicitiam, ut par sit ratio acceptorum et datorum': in the case of friendship, yes; but in discharging a high duty the *data* must at least equal the *accepta:* phil. II 55 'omnia denique quae postea vidimus (quid autem mali non vidimus?)...uni accepta referemus Antonio': for *par* compare Pliny epist. III 17 2 'exime hunc mihi scrupulum cui par esse non possum.'

The very day after writing the above I turned to Passeratius' copious commentary and met with these words 'an legendum *acceptis par eris imperiis*, id est, non impar tantis imperiis invenieris, ut Tacit. ann. XVI [18] 'vigentem se ac parem negotiis'. But I much prefer my own reading and metaphor.

2. I 8 17—20.

Sed quocumque modo de me, periura, mereris,
sit Galatea tuae non aliena viae,
ut te felici praevecta Ceraunia remo
accipiat placidis Oricos aequoribus.

The purport of these verses is plain enough: the poet, though angry at her intention of deserting him and going to Illyria, relents at the prospect of her danger, and wishes her a safe voyage past the Acroceraunian cliffs into the calm waters of the port of Oricos. But the third line is corrupt as *praevecta* should be *praevectam:* this the commentators generally admit, the older ones proposing violent and improbable conjectures, though they timidly suggest that it is a vocative for an accusative. Lachmann in his first edition sees the absurdity of this and reads

vites felici praevecta Ceraunia remo;
accipiat placidis Oricos aequoribus.

This introduces a clumsy asyndeton and ellipse of *te;* but there is a still more fatal objection to the reading: *praevectus* of course has the meaning of *praetervectus;* compare *praefluo, praenavigo,* and the like: Mueller says with reason 'vehementer displicet participium praeteriti adhibitum pro praesen-

tis'. This objection is indeed confirmed by the very passages which Lachmann cites for this sense of *praevehor*, from Lucan and Tacitus: 'plagas Bacchi...Praeveheris' and 'qua Germaniam praevehitur': comp. Livy's 'praetervehens equo' 'riding past on horseback' (the participle of the active having to serve in default of a present participle passive or deponent) with Cicero pro Cael. 51 'quoniam emersisse iam e vadis et scopulos praetervecta videtur oratio mea': the words would therefore signify 'may you clear the Ceraunians after you have already rowed past them'. Heinsius proposed 'post victa', Mueller reads 'post lecta Ceraunia'; neither of which corrections strikes me as very plausible. Hertzberg as usual finds the course all smooth and the edge of the Acroceraunians as plain sailing as the bay of Oricos: 'quantas tamen lites insolentior vocativi usus interpretibus moverit ut perspiciatur, coniecturas hic ponimus. Itali enim *per saeva*' etc. etc... 'At proximum nostro et paene par exemplum Ovidius habet metam. v 269 *nisi te virtus opera ad maiora tulisset, In partem ventura chori Tritonia nostri*': that is to say, a future participle is almost the same as a past participle, and the poet, when he addresses Cynthia, who has not yet quitted Rome, as 'O thou who hast already been rowed prosperously past the Ceraunians', means to say 'O thou who by and bye wilt be rowed prosperously past the Ceraunians'! and yet Paley follows him in all this and quotes as parallel such vocatives as 'unde datum hoc sumis, tot subdite rebus?'.

In my notes on Lucretius I have suggested 'Ut te praevectam felice Ceraunia remo': the *ce* of *felice* was probably swallowed up in *Ceraunia* and the more usual *felici* first substituted for it, and then to make a verse 'felici praevecta' was read for 'praevectā felici': even Cicero has *felice*, and Catullus *infelice*.

3. III (II), 10 (11) (12) (15) (19), 29—32.

Sic me nec solae poterunt avertere silvae
nec vaga muscosis flumina fusa iugis,
quin ego in adsidua mutem tua nomina lingua,
absenti nemo non nocuisse velit.

I have given the different numberings of this elegy, which are found in the principal editions: there may possibly be further variations. The verses I have quoted exactly as they appear in the best manuscript: most of the later editors, among them Lachmann, Haupt and Mueller, give *ne* for *non* in the last verse, after some Mss.: then *mutem* in 31 is by many called in question. Haupt reads *motem*: Hertzberg before him suggested the same, unless *mutem* be, as he thinks it is, the same thing, coming equally from *movito*: Jacob proposes *metuam*: Paley marks the verse as corrupt, but suggests *mussem*: Mr Palmer in the Hermathena vol. I p. 177 says that this 'was suggested by Palmer more than a hundred years ago': I do not know who this Palmer was; but I do know that *three* hundred years ago one who was almost a namesake, Janus Mellerus Palmerius, or Palmier, of Bruges did make the same suggestion.

The editors who read *nemo ne* appear to take it in the sense of *ne quis*, 'lest some one'. That may be Latin, but it is an idiom utterly unknown to me; nor do those who with this reading also keep *mutem*, explain what sense this word then has.

Metuam, I think, is at once to be rejected; for on every account I am quite clear that 'in assidua lingua' means 'constantly on the poet's tongue', not 'on the tongues of others'. The general sense of the elegy seems to require this; for when Cynthia was 'ower the hills and far awa' among the solitary forests, Propertius would fear less the general talk than when she was in Rome. Then the expression itself proclaims that this is the meaning: the verb being in the first person, 'in assidua lingua' can stand of course for 'assidue in lingua mea'; but if the words did not refer to the subject of the sentence, you would require *hominum* or *vulgi* or something to be supplied; or at least we ought to have *linguis*: this I may exemplify by a passage which will illustrate in other ways the force of our verse: Martial III 5 4 'Iulius, assiduum nomen in ore meo': Iulius being the subject, *meo* is required to define the *ore*: had Martial been the subject, *meo* would more naturally have been omitted. Then the tone of this elegy and of elegiac poetry generally points to such an interpretation in an address

to a mistress or familiar friend: compare Martial whom I have just cited, and Ovid and Tibullus quoted by different editors: 'Nil nisi Leandri nomen in ore meost', 'Te loquor absentem, vox te mea nominat unum', 'Nomen et absentis singula verba sonent': above all a passage of Propertius himself, I 18 31, which I hold to be in other respects a valuable support of the interpretation I am about to give: 'Sed qualiscumque es, resonent mihi 'Cynthia' silvae, Nec deserta tuo nomine saxa vacent'.

The lines then I take exactly as they are found in the best Ms.: *muto*, like *ἀμείβειν*, has many senses; sometimes it means to pass from one *place* to another, as in Lucr. IV 458 'Conclusoque loco caelum mare flumina montis Mutare et campos pedibus transire videmur'; and I have quoted in my note there from Seneca *urbes mutare*, 'to pass from town to town', and from Pliny 'locum ex loco mutans'. But there is a passage in Sallust still more to my present purpose: Iugurtha 88 6 'mobilitate ingenii pacem atque bellum mutare solitus', 'to pass time about from peace to war, from war to peace'. In our passage I take *tua nomina* to be put for the '*Cynthia*' of the passage quoted above; and what the poet means is that he *mutat*, 'passes time about' from the name 'Cynthia' to the words 'Absenti—velit', repeating again and again first one and then the other. I must however frankly confess that I do not understand the *Sic* of 29, and I am glad to find that the worthy old commentator Passeratius is in the same case with me: *Set* for *Sic* I could understand, and *set* is often corrupted in Mss. as copyists knew only the form *sed*. 'I will join in field-sports, and will be with you in a few days': (as I cannot explain *Sic*, I will translate as if we had *Set*): 'but neither the lonely forests nor the vagrant streams shed from the mossy hill-sides will have power to divert me from having ever on my tongue time about "Cynthia", "none but would choose to harm the absent"—"Cynthia", "none but would choose to harm the absent"'. Certainly therefore *mutem* should not be tampered with; and just as little would I tamper with *velit*, as a past infinitive with this word instead of a present is so striking a feature in the Latin of all periods: see Draeger's historische Syntax p. 230—232.

4. III (II) 22 (23) (28) (29) (30), 19 20.

Num iam, dure, paras Phrygias nunc ire per undas
et petere Hyrcani litora nota maris.

I have but one slight suggestion to make here. The *nota* of the second verse, it is generally allowed, has no meaning: various conjectures have been made, *nuda, nauta, Eoa*: I propose 'litora *ra*uca': *litora* absorbed the *ra* of *rauca*, and then the unmeaning *uca* was changed into the nearest existing word that occurred to the scribe. With 'litora rauca' comp. Stat. Theb. v 291 'litore rauco'; VII 16 'raucae circumtonat ira Malcae'; IV 800 'amne propinquo Rauca sonat valles'; Hor. od. II 14 14 'Fractisque rauci fluctibus Hadriae'; Lucan v 217 'pontus Rauca gemit': the poet probably had in his mind Catullus' 'Litus ut longe resonante eoa tunditur unda, Sive in Hyrcanos'.

5. V (IV) 11, 37—41.

Testor maiorum cineres tibi, Roma, verendos,
sub quorum titulis, Africa, tonsa iaces,
et Persen proavi simulantem pectus Achillis
quique tuas proavus fregit Achille domos,
me neque censurae legem mollisse cet.

The best Ms. fails us in these verses, which I have set down as they are given in the next best: they are from the last elegy, one of the longest and most important of the poems of Propertius, held by many to be not only his noblest elegy, but the 'queen' of all elegies: its merit I freely grant, but I do not admit that it represents by any means his very highest inspiration: to my ear and taste it has not a little of the forced and formal manner which generally belongs to a poem done to order, as is seen for instance in the Alcaic odes of Horace's fourth book.

The second distich in the passage here given is the most difficult and disputed in the whole elegy: corrupt it unquestionably is in my opinion and in that of most of the recent editors: the older commentators are all quite helpless here, at least those of them whom I have consulted. Wratislaw

and Paley defend the manuscript reading; but let me explain at once why I must reject their defence. The former says 'there is no difficulty here if we bear in mind that *Achille* is voc. like *Pericle, Sophocle*:' yes, there is this very grave difficulty that the *e* is inflexibly long as we are told by Priscian and can confirm by the few instances from the poets in which this can be tested: Ovid met. x 632 'A! miser Hippomenē,' and Sen. Troad. 707 'error, Ulixē' in an anapaest:—*es* in most of these Greek names is the ordinary vocative. The negative argument is no less strong: if they could have employed an *ĕ*, we should have found in the elegiac poets the voc. *Ulixĕ* and *Achillĕ* in the latter half of the pentameter: Ovid would not eight or nine times have thrown away such useful words on the end of an hexameter. To strengthen my argument, we find in a wretched forgery, attributed to Nemesianus, 'de aucupio,' l. 15, the vocative *Palamedĕ*. Paley's remark is still more striking: '*Achille* is the vocative on the principle that Greek names in *es* (Pericles etc.) were inflected in Latin mostly after the *o* declension:' indeed! I know that the older Latin genitive was *Achilleï* or *Achilli*, *Ulixeï* or *Ulixi*, even *Pericli*, etc.; but I should greatly like to see an *Achillo, Achillum, Achillĕ, Achillo*, or *Periclo, Sophoclo, Periclum*, etc. etc. The vocative therefore being *Achillē*, the reading cannot stand. Then look at Paley's interpretation: 'the construction may be either *et* (testor) *Persen et eum qui fregit* etc. or *et* (testor) *proavum qui fregit Persen et tuas domos, Achille*.' But what a gulf between two such explanations, and then how strange they both of them are! according to the first Cornelia says, 'I appeal to our ancestors who vanquished Africa, and to Perses, who is affecting the spirit of his ancestor Achilles, and to him who crushed thy house, Achilles.' How singular to appeal to Perses, and then not to appeal to him because he was conquered by an ancestor of Paullus, but because he is now affecting Achilles' spirit—and where? for *simulans* must refer to the same time as the verb *testor*: the Latin language peremptorily forbids its meaning 'who formerly affected':—and then to turn from Perses to the ancestor 'who crushed thy house, Achilles': this being the Paullus who crushed Perses, now

affecting etc. The other interpretation shews Propertius as a strange master of style: see how it deals with the two *proavi* which one would suppose had some relation to one another. But no: now we have 'testor tuum proavum, Paulle, qui fregit Persen, simulantem pectus proavi sui Achillis, et tuas domos, Achille:' and what a jumble of words, more suited to the age of Charlemagne than to that of Augustus!

Conjecture therefore must be had recourse to, on behalf of sense and grammar and metre alike: Hertzberg reads after inferior Mss. in 40 'proavo fregit Achille domos' which avoids the false quantity, but leaves a most harsh construction, if a construction at all: 'et eum testor qui fregit Persen s. p. p. A. tuasque (o Persa) domos Achille proavo:' it is intolerably harsh to go from *Persen* to *tuas* without even adding the vocative 'o Persa;' and then the ablative is to say the least very singular, as the context would surely require its depending on *fregit*, not *domos*; though Lachmann adopts it in his first edition, but in 39 he reads after Santen 'Te, Perseu, proavi cet.:' thus the alterations are many, and the construction still remains almost insufferably harsh. Mueller marks the verses as corrupt past cure: Haupt adopts Lachmann's first text.

I will now develop my own views on the passage. Cornelia, daughter of P. Scipio, is addressing from the tomb her living husband, Paullus Aemilius Lepidus, the highly distinguished censor and nephew of the triumvir Marcus. In our verses she appeals, in proof of her never having disgraced him in his high office of censor, to their ancestors the Scipios and Aemilii Paulli. 'I appeal' she says 'to the ashes of our ancestors so revered by you, O Rome, beneath whose titles of honour, O Africa, you crouch with shorn locks'—and then follow those two perplexing lines, void of all sense, the second of metre as well. When I look into them, it forces itself irresistibly upon me that here too we have an example of that which is ever recurring in an ancient text resting on a single manuscript: a distich has dropped out, probably beginning with the same word *et* with which the following one commences: the Scipios, including Scipio Aemilianus who was the son of Paullus Aemilius, had many triumphs to boast of in Africa,

Spain and Asia, conquerors alike of Hannibal, Antiochus and Numantia. It appears to me then almost certain that a distich has fallen out beginning with *Et*, probably with *Et qui*, celebrating some further triumphs of the Scipios: 'and who' we will suggest 'conquered Numantia and Hannibal and Antiochus': and then to come to our present distich—'and Perses.' And here I may observe that there seems a special reason for laying so much stress on the victory over Perses. The Scipios were renowned alike for high birth and great deeds. The Paulli Aemilii Lepidi were their equals in illustrious descent, they and the Scipios being the very cream of Roman nobility before the supremacy of the Caesars; 'that Lepidus of the triumvirate,' 'a slight unmeritable man', gaining his position solely by his birth. But their achievements, if we give Aemilianus to the Scipios, were far less brilliant. Now the dead Cornelia, or rather the living Propertius, addressing in her name the living Paullus Lepidus and his sons, would try to throw as much splendour as possible on the Aemilii Paulli; and the most transcendent feat of the family was the conquest of Perses and Macedonia by L. Aemilius Paullus through firmness and good sense rather than genius; for it was his one great achievement: his campaigns in Spain had been anything but successful or glorious. The triumph over Perses was really an epoch in the history of the world, but the poet strives to exaggerate it by extolling the greatness and illustrious descent of Perses. After then saying, we will assume, in the lost distich: 'and who conquered Numantia and Hannibal and Antiochus,' he goes on 'and Perses affecting the great heart of his ancestor Achilles': —and then surely by all the laws of style and poetry, the *proavus* of the next line should be coordinate with the *proavi* of 39, their very positions in the verse being the same; and some other ancestor of Perses should be glorified. Then as every word of 39 seems sound and intelligible, and also every word in 40, except *Achille* which violates at least grammar, if not sense and metre as well, we should look for the corruption in it: and the corruption is readily accounted for, if we assume that the *Achillis*, or rather *Achilli* as Propertius probably wrote it, of 39 caught the copyist's eye and he put it in

the place of the genuine name which would probably begin with an *A*: the natural construction of the words would therefore be 'and Perses, affecting the great heart of his ancestor Achilles and of that other ancestor who (eius proavi qui) crushed thy house and kingdom, O—': who then are we to substitute for the unmeaning and unmetrical *Achille*? The poet, I repeat, addressing Paullus in the name of Cornelia, strove to invest with as much glory as he could the one surpassing achievement of the Aemilii Paulli by exalting Perses and his illustrious ancestry. Who then was this other *proavus* who in the Macedonian Walhalla was worthy to take his place by the side of Achilles? Though we may have demonstrated that some other *proavus* was named here, it does not follow that we should be expected to tell who he was. However we will try: shall we say then,

παρὰ δ' αὐτὸν Ἀλέξανδρος φίλα εἰδὼς
ἕδριάει Πέρσαισι βαρὺς θεὸς αἰολομίτραις:

such a god of wrath to the mitred Persians as Achilles had been to the mitred Phrygians? If we assume this other *proavus* to be Alexander, two names suggest themselves to me, both names of women, as worthy to take the place of the meaningless *Achille*, though I decidedly prefer one to the other: I would read 'Quique tuas proavus fregit, Atossa, domos': women appear always to have had great influence in Persia over the reigning king, and we learn from Aeschylus and Herodotus alike the power and eminence of Atossa, daughter of Cyrus, wife of Darius and mother of Xerxes. The other name that occurs to me is 'Amastri': two at least of the name Amastris were renowned in Persian history, one the wife of Xerxes and mother of Artaxerxes, she too celebrated by Herodotus: the other, niece of the Darius whom Alexander conquered, and wife successively of Craterus, Dionysius and Lysimachus. No fault whatever can be found with the expression: *domos* in the poets can well mean the 'house, family and whole dominions of Atossa', 'homes' in the widest sense of the word: in fact if spoken of Perses or Achilles it has just the same force: compare Virgil's 'Graiugenumque domos suspectaque linquimus arva':

'Aspice et extremis domitum cultoribus orbem Eoasque domos Arabum pictosque Gelonos'; and Propertius himself III (II) 10 (1), 16 'Et domus intactae te tremit Arabiae': Silius III 282 ventures to say 'Massyli,...domus (i.e. populus) ultima terrae': Stat. Theb. IV 387 foll. and VIII 237 foll. might be taken to point to Alexander: 'aut claustra novissima rubrae Tethyos eoasque domos flagrante triumpho Perfuris'; 'Ceu modo gemmiferum thyrso populatus Hydaspen Eoasque domos, nigri vexilla triumphi Liber et ignotos populis ostenderet Indos'. And if it be argued that Perses and his father Philip were descendants of Antigonus and not connected in any way with Alexander and the old Macedonian dynasty, the objection is true in fact, and yet perhaps in nowise refutes our suggestion. For Polybius, our highest authority, a contemporary of Perses and his father Philip, says of the latter, V 10 10, that during the whole of his life he strove most zealously to prove himself a kinsman of Alexander and Philip, though he took no pains to emulate their actions.

And yet so far from being satisfied with this conjecture, I am about to propose a totally different one, in which I do not hesitate to say, though a nemesis should follow, that I feel a very great degree of confidence. Propertius no doubt had historical grounds for his picture of Perses; and Perses would hardly perhaps have united in any manifesto so remote an ancestor as the Aeacid Achilles with a historical personage, comparatively so near his own times as Alexander. The old Macedonian kings, it is well known, were recognised in Greece as Greeks and not barbarians, because they were believed to have proved their descent from the Argive Heracleids or Temenids; and Plutarch at the beginning of his life of Alexander emphatically observes that it is an unquestioned fact (*τῶν πάνυ πεπιστευμένων ἐστι*) that on his father's side he was a Heracleid through Caranus, and on his mother's an Aeacid through Neoptolemus. It is quite manifest that Perses and his father Philip were ambitious on personal and political grounds to maintain the same claims. The father of Philip, Demetrius II, had married the daughter of Pyrrhus, so that, independently of Alexander, they were Aeacids on the mother's

side, descended from Pyrrhus or Neoptolemus the son of Achilles. And just as Propertius here speaks of Perses 'affecting the great heart of his ancestor Achilles', Silius XV 291 says of his father Philip 'Hic gente egregius veterisque ab origine regni Aeacidum sceptris proavoque tumebat Achille': it can hardly too admit of question that it is Perses whom Virgil refers to by his 'Ipsumque Aeaciden, genus armipotentis Achilli'.

Just as certain is it that Philip and Perses from policy and pride asserted their Heracleid and Argive descent on the father's side: thus Livy, XXVII 30, tells us that the Argives conferred on Philip the presidency of the Heraean and Nemean games, 'quia se Macedonum reges ex ea civitate oriundos ferunt'; and that at Argos 'mos erat comitiorum die primo velut ominis causa praetores pronuntiare Iovem Apollinemque et Herculem: additum lege erat ut his Philippus adiceretur'. Philip indeed in his vainglorious aspirations was resolved to have at least two strings to his bow: in the great majority of his extant coins we see on the obverse the head either of Hercules or of the famous Argive hero Perseus, and the name of the latter he gave to his eldest son and successor, our Perseus or Perses. We can scarcely doubt then that he wished to maintain that his ancestor Antigonus, an Argive like the old dynasty, was descended from Perseus, and thus to clinch his Argive and Heracleid connexion; for Hercules himself was son of Alcmena, the daughter of Electryon, son of Perseus. And thus we get for another *proavus*, and a paternal as Achilles was a maternal one, an ancestor who was a stronger warrior than Achilles and a greater conqueror than Alexander, the mightiest of heroes Hercules.

We have then the other *proavus*; but what is the achievement which the poet has singled out by which to denote him? what but his last and greatest labour, the only one which Homer has seen fit to specify, his breaking by main force into Hades, dragging away Cerberus 'Ipsius a solio regis', and bringing Theseus back to the light of day. The eloquent rant of Seneca's Hercules furens is a good comment upon this: now that he has stormed Hades, Juno is roused to make one more

effort to prevent him from storming Heaven as well: 'nec satis terrae patent: Effregit ecce limen inferni Iovis Et opima victi regis ad superos refert...At ipse rupto carcere umbrarum ferox De me triumphat...quaeris Alcidae parem? Nemo est nisi ipse: ('None but himself can be his parallel') bella iam secum gerat'. Later in the play Hercules says himself 'noctis aeternae chaos Et nocte quiddam gravius et tristes deos Et fata vidi... Quid restat aliud? vidi et ostendi inferos. Da si quid ultra est'. And farther on the chorus says 'Derat hoc unum numero laborum Tertiae regnum spoliare sortis'. With no small confidence then I would read

Quique tuas proavus fregit, Averne, domos.

Every word in the verse thus constituted has its force and meaning: Hercules did not slink into Hades like the crafty Ulysses or the pious Aeneas; he broke into its mansions with his strong right arm: 'Effregit ecce limen inferni Iovis' in the words of Seneca just quoted. Then the poets have a singular fancy for applying the word *domos* to the mansions and realms of the dead: in the Hercules furens of Euripides 610 Amphitryon says to his son Ἦλθες γὰρ ὄντως δώματ' εἰς Ἄιδου, τέκνον: Iliad O 251 δῶμ' Ἄϊδαο: Odys. κ 512 Ἄϊδεω δόμον εὐρώεντα: then we find in Virgil 'Ditis Infernas accede domos'; 'Perque domos Ditis vacuas et inania regna'; 'Lethaeumque domos placidas qui praenatat amnem'; 'Quin ipsae stupuere domus atque intima leti Tartara': Lucan VI 514 'Nosse domos Stygias'; Val. Flaccus I 781 'Stygiasque domos'; Silius VI 488 'Stygios ante intravisse penates'; Stat. Theb. VIII 48 'quid enim mihi nuntius ambas Itque reditque domos' i.e. Hades and Heaven. And lastly Propertius himself, IV (III) 12 (11), 33 'Nigrantesque domos animarum intrasse silentum'. *Avernus* gradually in the Latin poets took more and more the place of the Greek *Tartarus*, or *Styx*, or *Acheron* with which according to some it is etymologically connected. In the latest passage in which Virgil uses the word, Aen. VII 91 'imis Acheronta adfatur Avernis', it has already completely assumed its new meaning: the Italian *Averna* or *Avernus* is now synonymous with the Greek *Tartara* or *Tartarus*. Seneca in his Hippol. 1201 (Phaedra 1210) para-

phrases by 'Pallidi fauces Averni vosque Taenarei specus, Unda miseris grata Lethes vosque torpentes lacus' Virgil's 'Tartareas (Taenarias, in the georgics) etiam fauces, alta ostia Ditis, Lethaeumque domos placidas qui praenatat amnem'; Hipp. 1147, of Theseus, 'Ipsoque magis flebile Averno Sedis patriae videt hospitium'; Lucan VI 636 'Stygio populus pugnasset Averno'; Val. Flaccus II 601 'Non ego per Stygiae, quod rere, silentia ripae, Frater, agor; frustra vacui scrutaris Averni, Care, vias'; IV 700 of Hercules himself 'discussa quales formidine Averni Alcides Theseusque comes pallentia iungunt Oscula, vix primas amplexi luminis oras'; Stat. Theb. III 146 'nigri pater Averni'; IV 457 and VIII 193 'rector Averni'; XI 588 Charon is named 'pigri sulcator Averni' i.e. Stygis: a legend indeed, as we see in Silius, had formed itself that the earthly Avernus was once named Styx: XII 645 'coetusque silentis Averni'; silvae V 1 27 'deis pallentis Averni'; 259 'reges tristis Averni'; Silius XVII 466 'abigat me frater Averno'; XV 76 'tenebris Avernis'; XIII 601 'coniunx Iunonis Avernae' which Stat. Theb. IV 526 expresses by 'Stygiae Iunonis': at the opening of Theb. VIII Amphiaraus comes tumbling in, horses and all, with as loud a clatter as Hercules, 'Letiferasque domos orbisque arcana sepulti Rupit cet.' and then 34 Pluto asks 'Quae superum labes inimicum impegit Averno Aethera? quis rumpit tenebras?' and so on.

What follows will serve to give a notion of how I would reconstruct our passage:

> Testor maiorum cineres tibi, Roma, verendos,
> sub quorum titulis, Africa, tonsa iaces,
> [et qui contuderunt animos pugnacis Hiberi
> Hannibalemque armis Antiochumque suis,]
> et Persen proavi simulantem pectus Achilli,
> quique tuas proavus fregit, Averne, domos,
> me neque censurae legem mollisse cet.

We find associated in Horace 'Infecit aequor sanguine Punico ...et ingentem cecidit Antiochum Hannibalemque dirum'.

To illustrate what precedes compare the precise statement of Velleius II 6 'Caranus, vir generis regii, sextus decimus ab

Hercule, profectus Argis regnum Macedoniae occupavit: a quo magnus Alexander cum fuerit septimus decimus, iure materni generis Achille auctore, paterni Hercule, gloriatus est': the antithesis here closely resembles the one we have found in Propertius; the mighty maternal ancestor Achilles is followed by the still mightier paternal one Hercules. It may be observed too that Horace's 'Perrupit Acheronta Herculeus labor' is the precise equivalent of Propertius' verse, Horace keeping to the Greek synonyme of *Avernum* which perhaps he would not have employed in its transferred sense before the Aeneid was known; while Ovid, so well acquainted with it, says in his met. v 539 'quem quondam dicitur Orphne, Inter Avernales haud ignotissima nymphas, Ex Acheronte suo silvis peperisse sub atris', Acheron and Avernus being here synonymous: he had already in his elegy on Tibullus used the words 'nigro submersit Averno': there too Avernus is synonymous with Acheron or Styx.

Thus I seem to myself to have struck out something not wholly unworthy of Propertius, while the traditional text, twist and turn it as we may, and the corrections of previous editors produce results, as regards both the language and the thought, more worthy a poetaster of the sixth century than a poet of the Augustan age. And this is not the only passage of our poem which Ms. corruptions and editorial comments have obscured or degraded: vv. 65 66 appear in our Mss. in the following shape

6. Vidimus et fratrem sellam geminasse curulem:
consule quo facto tempore rapta soror.

Paley, 'quem honoris causa nomino', thus comments on the 2nd verse: 'if it be not a brief or rather a confused way of expressing *qui cum consul factus esset, eo tempore rapta est soror eius,* (i.e. ego rapta sum), or, *cuius consulatus tempore rapta est soror,* we must understand *tempore* with Hertzberg as the ablative of the instrument, rather than with others for *opportune*'. Such a way of expressing oneself I should term meaningless rather than confused; nor has an instrumental *tempore* any 'locus standi' here, and when a lady says of herself that she died 'immatura' amid the tears of husband and children, she

cannot mean that she died *opportune*, which contradicts at the same time 'rapta'. And yet this elegy is called by Paley 'the masterpiece of the poet's genius' and 'a splendid composition'. Again Lachmann's conjecture, 'Consul quo factus tempore, rapta soror', though accepted by many, has never commended itself to my judgment: the asyndeton between the two lines is most abrupt, the expression most clumsy and prosaic. It is more natural too that Cornelia should signify she died during the year of her brother's consulship; than that she should say, especially in such a helpless way, that she died at the time he was appointed consul.

The whole corruption appears to me to lie in the word *facto*; and when I remember how Ovid, ex Ponto IV 9 56, addresses his friend Graecinus when he was consul and tells him that even in Pontus, 'Hic quoque te festum consule tempus agam', it strikes me that this would not be unworthy of Propertius,

Consule quo, festo tempore rapta soror.

As Hertzberg justly observes that the Mss. of Propertius so often confound *factum* and *fatum*, it is possible Propertius may have written 'consule quo, fati tempore rapta soror' (or rather 'fatist tempore', since the enclitic *st* is such a fertile occasion of corruption): comp. Ovid tristia IV 1 86: 'Heu nimium fati tempora lenta mei'; but I prefer the other correction.

7. V (IV) 3 7—10.

Te modo viderunt iteratos Bactra per ortus,
te modo munito Neuricus hostis equo,
hibernique Getae pictoque Britannia curru,
ustus et eoa discolor Indus aqua.

This passage I have selected on account of the ablative in the last line: can it be a locative abl. as Hertzberg asserts? or can it stand for 'ad eoam undam', as Lachmann maintains in his first edition? what his mature judgment may have been, I do not know. I have discussed above, p. 44, some of Propertius' ablatives; but I know of none like the one before us either in

him or in any other Latin writer. In Draeger's historische Syntax p. 458 many instances are given from Plautus, Cicero and other authors of the simple ablative in respect of towns, such as 'N. Magius Cremona' from Caesar, even 'serve Athenis pessime' from Plautus; but none that at all supports the use of 'coa aqua' for 'ad eoam aquam'. The case therefore must be changed, and it is easy to see how *Ustus* might cause a copyist to introduce an ablative. But the noble verse is quite ruined to my mind by the expulsion of *eoa aqua*, whether we read *Eoo equo*, or *eois equis*, with so many of the editors old and recent: it is too bad to intrude *Eoo equo* into the most emphatic part of the pentameter, when *munito equo* had exactly the same position in the pentameter preceding. For *discolor* however *decolor* must be read, and this is scarcely to be called an alteration, as medieval Mss. seem to interchange the two words indiscriminately: thus in each of the six places where Ovid uses *decolor* his Mss. appear to be divided between it and *discolor*. If we look into the two chief extant Latin geographers Mela and Pliny, we find what an important place in their dreamy conceptions of India was occupied by what they term the *eous oceanus*, *eoum mare* or *pelagus*, and *eoa litora*: compare especially Mela 3 61 (III 7) and Pliny VI 56: from these two passages, which evidently come from the same source, we learn that India was bounded on the east by this *eoum mare*, on the south by the *Indicum mare* and on the west by the river Indus. On the principle of the 'omne ignotum pro magnifico' and of distance lending enchantment to the view, the shores of this eastern ocean, where the uttermost Indians dwelt, were looked on as a land of promise, of gold and of pearls. Catullus thus commences his stately, though half-ironical, eleventh poem

> Furi et Aureli, comites Catulli,
> sive in extremos penetrabit Indos,
> *lit*us ut *longe re*sonante *eoa tunditur unda*.
> 'The *league-long roller thundering on* the reef'.

They had already heard the echoes of the tremendous surf off Madras. Seneca in his Oedipus, 113, partly imitates Catullus: 'tuus ille, Bacche, Miles extremos comes usque ad Indos, Ausus

eois equitare campis, Figere et mundo tua signa primo...Promit hinc ortus aperitque lucem Phoebus et flamma propiore nudos Inficit Indos'. Arethusa therefore, exaggerating to the utmost the travels of Lycotas, carries him to this eastern sea in these words, as I would correct them,

ustus et eoae decolor Indus aquae:

'and the Indian of the eastern wave burnt to a black discoloured hue'. The *decolor ustus* much resembles the phrase which Lucretius twice repeats in his sixth book, 'nigra virum percocto saecla colore': Seneca too in his Hippolytus (Phaedra) 345 (353) and Medea 484 (487) has 'India decolor' and 'perustis Indiae populis'. With the phrase 'eoae Indus aquae' I would compare for more reasons than one Seneca Herc. Fur. 916 (920): there the best Ms. gives 'nobilis Dircenaq;' i.e. 'nobilis Dircen aquae': this the next best Ms. not understanding corrupts into 'nobiles Dirces aquas', just as the Mss. of Propertius corrupt 'eoae aquae' into 'eoa aqua', thinking that *ustus* required an ablative. The latest editors of Seneca strangely corrupt their author by reading 'nobilis Dirces nemus'. Still more like our verse in construction is Seneca Thyestes 602 'Phoebi propioris Indus'.

Every careful student of the three elegiac poets will have observed how in the formation of the peculiar elegiac style one will catch up sometimes the thought of his predecessor while the language is different, sometimes his language while the thought is varied; sometimes both thought and language will be the same. Now the reading 'eoae decolor Indus aquae' will I think gain much support, if we observe this mutual interchange of language and thought. First we find in Tibullus IV 2 19 'Et quascumque niger rubro de litore gemmas Proximus eois colligit Indus aquis': few will doubt that Propertius consciously or unconsciously had this passage in his mind when he wrote the verse we are examining. As certain is it that Ovid had Propertius' *language* more or less consciously before him, when he penned the following lines: ars III 130 'Quos legit in viridi decolor Indus aqua'; met. IV 20 'oriens tibi victus adusque Decolor extremo qua tinguitur India Gange'; trist. V 3 24

'Et quascumque bibit decolor Indus aquas': for compare what precedes 'sed adusque *nivosum* Strymona venisti Marticolamque *Geten*', with what precedes in Propertius '*Hibernique Getae*'.

After what has been said I need hardly add that I cannot take *Indus* here for the river: Mela and Pliny after Eratosthenes and others emphatically assert that the Indus was the western boundary of India: it can have nothing to do then with the 'eoa aqua'. If too you read with Mr Palmer in the Hermathena I p. 169 *Vastus* for *Ustus*, you must at the same time read *eoae aquae*, which makes the alteration, diplomatically considered, by no means so simple; and then how singularly vague the expression 'the Indus of a different colour from the eastern water', without one word to signify this meant that the Indus where it flowed into the eastern sea was of a different colour. If the Indus could signify the river, for more reasons than one I should prefer 'Mistus et eoa discolor Indus aqua'. But after what has been said, I need not add that this too in my opinion is quite out of the question.

8. III (II) 17 (18) (20) (25), 9—18.

At me ab amore tuo diducet nulla senectus,
sive ego Tithonus sive ego Nestor ero.
nonne fuit satius duro servire tyranno
et gemere in tauro, saeve Perille, tuo?
Gorgonis et satius fuit obdurescere vultu?
Caucasias etiam si pateremur aves?
sed tamen obsistam. teritur rubigine mucro
ferreus et parvo saepe liquore silex:
at nullo dominae teritur sublimine (sublumine) amor qui
restat et immerita sustinet aure minas.

I have printed these ten verses that I may be able to explain better what my opinion is of the last line but one, which is generally looked upon as corrupt past cure, and of which as it stands in the Mss. no tolerable interpretation so far as I know has ever been offered. A just conception of this verse I

hold to be of the greatest moment for the right understanding of this most interesting elegy which exhibits to us Propertius in his most peculiar mood, the mood indeed which made him the poet he is. Bacon observes that 'amongst all the great and worthy persons whereof the memory remaineth, there is not one that hath been transported to the mad degree of love'. True it is that its usual victim is a 'curled Anthony', not a baldpated Julius; but for the lyric poet, the poet I mean of the impassioned lyric of love and hate, 'the mad degree of love' occupies the first, the second and the third place in the roll of his virtues. Of this lyric Catullus is the greatest master among the Roman poets, and Propertius treads closely on his heels; for his love-elegies are as genuine lyrics as the stanzas of Sappho or the songs of Burns. Look at the verse which follows what we have cited: 'Ultro contemptus rogat, et peccasse fatetur Laesus', 'scorn it meets with entreaty, and outrage by owning itself in fault': have we not here in one verse the quintessence of love's ethics, of all the legislation for the *amour-passion*, from the Provence of the twelfth down to the Italy of the eighteenth century? But to our text.

To comprehend rightly then our 17th verse it must be clearly seen that *dominae amor* go together; that is to say 'my love for my lady', repeating in another shape what he had said above in 9 *amore tuo*, 'my love for you': the overlooking this point has occasioned many futile conjectures or explanations: *amor*, or still more the frigid *amator* of some editors, gives a most insipid and pointless sense. No length of days, he says, will divorce me from my love for you, though I suffer more cruelly than if I were in Phalaris' bull, or had my liver devoured by the vultures of Prometheus. But for all that I will hold out: steel wears away with rust, hard basalt often by a little water; but love for my lady wears not away—: can the Ms. words stand? The interpretation of them given by Hertzberg, which I am sorry to see defended by Paley, and the explanations offered by many others seem to me preposterous. If sense is to be put into the words, they must be explained differently. The Latins could employ *nihil* in the nom. and acc. for *nulla res*, but not in the other cases: the older prose writers therefore, in order

perhaps to avoid ambiguity, did not use the neuter of *nullus* by itself, but said *nullius rei, nulla re,* etc. We find however this neuter occurring already in Celsus more than once, in both the Senecas, and Tac. ann. III 15: nay even in Livy II 59 8 'nemo ullius nisi fugae memor': Bonnell in his Lexicon gives three examples of *nullo* from Quintilian; and it is not unknown to the older poets: Lucr. I 242 'ubi nulla forent aeterno corpore'; Hor. ars 324 'praeter laudem nullius avaris'; Ovid met. I 17 'nulli sua forma manebat'; XV 242 'nulloque premente Alta petunt'. Can we then read 'At nullo (=nulla re) dominae teritur, sub limine amor qui Restat', 'but by nothing whatever does love for my lady wear away: (though the door is shut against it), it stays close to her entry, etc.'.? this would recall Lucretius' 'At lacrimans exclusus amator limina saepe Floribus et sertis operit...et foribus miser oscula figit'. In Latin such expressions as *sub muro* are common enough, and it is true that *limen* means the lintel as well as the sill; and yet as we find *in limine* 500 times in Latin and no other example I fancy of *sub limine,* the latter must surely be looked on as more than doubtful: can hardly indeed be genuine.

Would not the following conjecture well explain the *sublimine* and *sublumine* of the best Mss.?

At nullo dominae teritur sub alumine amor qui Restat cet. Beckmann in his History of inventions proves conclusively that 'our alum was certainly not known to the Greeks or the Romans, and what the latter called *alumen* was vitriol; not however pure vitriol, but such as forms itself in mines'. To see what an important part this *alumen,* the Greek στυπτηρία, played in the Greek and Roman Materia medica, one need only consult the indexes of Galen, Celsus and Pliny: see especially Pliny XXXV, ch. 15, § 183—190: the various kinds of *alumen* seem to have been particularly efficacious in wounds, ulcers, inflammations, such distempers in short as might claim a metaphorical affinity with love: we find in Pliny 'vis liquidi aluminis adstringere, indurare, *rodere.* melle admixto sanat oris ulcera, papulas pruritusque...combustum utilius *epiphoris inhibendis,* sic et ad *pruritus* corporis...summa omnium generum vis in adstringendo, unde nomen Graecis (i.e. στυπτηρία)...putrescentia ulcerum

compescit': in Celsus too it is among the medicines which *rodunt,* and *exedunt.* We get then this excellent sense: iron wears away with rust, basalt by the dripping of water; but by the power of no astringent, styptic, caustic, does love for my lady wear away: it abides, etc. The language too is precise in every point: as Propertius here says '*teritur* rubigine mucro Ferreus', while Ovid, ex Ponto I 1 17, has '*Roditur* ut scabra positum rubigine ferrum', Virgil '*Exesa* scabra rubigine pila'; so Propertius here gives us 'nullo *teritur* sub alumine', while Pliny tells us that 'vis liquidi aluminis *rodere*', and Celsus, that 'alumen' is one of the things which '*exedunt*', and that among the medicines which *rodunt* is 'alumen liquidum, sed magis rotundum'. Then an index of Celsus will prove that *sub* is a technical expression to denote the effect produced by a medicine, as in phrases like 'si sub his inflammatio non conquierit', 'sub quibus perveniri ad sanitatem potest'. And that though technical it is not unpoetical, may be shewn by a similar use of *sub* in Ovid met. V 62 'exhalantem sub acerbo vulnere vitam Deploravit Athin'. The general antithetical turn of these four verses always brings into my mind Ovid trist. IV 6 13 foll.; but Propertius himself precisely illustrates our metaphor in II 1 57 'Omnes humanos sanat medicina dolores: Solus amor morbi non amat artificem'.

9. V (IV) 1 73, 74.

Accersis lacrimis cantas: aversus Apollo;
poscis ab invita verba pigenda lyra.

The corrections given by editors of the first verse, 'Aversis musis', 'charisin', 'rythmis', seem all of them unnecessarily violent: *lacrimis* strikes me as genuine, and I would read 'At certis lacrimis cantas': 'why, you sing at the cost of certain tears: Apollo turns away his face; you demand of your reluctant lyre words that you will sorely rue': with *lacrimis* comp. 7 69 'mortis lacrimis vitae sanamus amores'.

H. A. J. MUNRO.

SENECA'S TRAGEDIES.

THOUGH the Tragedies which go under the name of Seneca appear to be now almost entirely neglected, in this country at least, they must during the seventeenth century have been next to the works of Virgil and Horace among the most popular of Latin and therefore of all poems. This we must infer from the circumstance that during a portion only of that century at least twenty editions were published of Farnaby's recension and brief notes; as well as from the fact that the literature of that period teems with imitations of his audacious hyperboles and telling commonplaces, which much resemble those which we find in the author's prose writings: for that most, at all events some, of the tragedies are rightly assigned to Seneca I feel no manner of doubt. We have referred above to the 'None but himself can be his parallel' which appears to come from the Hercules Furens 84

quaeris Alcidae parem ?
nemo est nisi ipse : bella iam secum gerat.

Again and again my ear seems to catch in Shakespeare some echo of a saying in Seneca. 'Canst thou not minister to a mind diseased' recalls 1261 (1268) of the same play 'nemo polluto queat Animo mederi', especially if we compare what precedes,

cur animam in ista luce detineam amplius
morerque nihil est. cuncta iam amisi bona,
mentem, arma, famam, coniugem, gnatos, manus,
etiam furorem,

with what comes a few lines before in Macbeth 'I have lived

long enough:...And that which should accompany old age, As honour, love, obedience, troops of friends, I must not look to have'. Again 'the dread of something after death, The undiscovered country from whose bourn No traveller returns, puzzles the will', and 'Ay, but to die and go we know not where', have not a little in common with Herc. Furens 858 (862), Herc. Oetaeus 48 and 1525 (1529):

> qualis est nobis animus, remota
> luce cum maestus sibi quisque sensit
> obrutum tota caput esse terra...
> sera nos illo referat senectus.
> nemo ad id sero venit unde numquam,
> cum semel venit, poterit reverti.
> quid iuvat dirum properare fatum?—
> inde ad hunc orbem redi,
> nemo unde retro.—
> dic ad aeternos properare manes
> Herculem et regnum canis inquieti,
> unde non umquam remeavit ullus.

The words of Cassius 'how many ages hence Shall this our lofty scene be acted over In states unborn and accents yet unknown!' are in sympathy with those of Pyrrhus and Agamemnon in the Troades 292 (301)

> nullumne Achillis praemium manes ferent?
> Ferent, et illum laudibus cuncti canent
> magnumque terrae nomen ignotae audient.

And the words of Atreus in the Thyestes 289

> regna nunc sperat mea.
> hac spe minanti fulmen occurret Iovi,
> hac spe subibit gurgitis tumidi minas
> dubiumque Libycae Syrtis intrabit fretum

remind me of Hotspur: 'methinks it were an easy leap, To pluck bright honour from the pale-faced moon, Or dive into the bosom of the deep, etc.' Compare too Romeo and Juliet II 2 26 with Manilius I 713, a contemporary of Seneca and like him once more read than he is now:

thou art
as glorious to this night, being o'er my head,
as is a winged messenger of heaven
unto the white-upturned wondering *eyes*
of mortals that fall back to gaze on him,
when he bestrides the lazy pacing clouds
and sails upon the bosom of the air.

utque suos arcus per nubila circinat Iris,
sic superincumbit signato culmine limes
candidus, et *resupina facit mortalibus ora,*
dum nova per caecam vibrantur (mirantur *Bentl.*) lumina noctem.

Whether the contempt into which the tragedies of Seneca have now fallen be not as much beyond their deserts as the admiration was which they once enjoyed, I will not attempt to decide. There is much powerful rhetoric in them: the latest editors take for their motto the following words of Muretus, one of the best writers and judges of Latin that ever existed: 'est profecto poeta ille praeclarior et vetusti sermonis diligentior quam quidam inepte fastidiosi suspicantur.'

If the tragedies of Seneca are ever again to be studied with more diligence, the latest edition, published by Teubner in 1867 and edited by Peiper and Richter, ought to afford us some satisfaction mixed with a good deal of regret. It gives us to all appearance a most accurate collation of the best Mss., a matter of prime importance in the case of our author; but its utility is marred throughout by the singular method they pursue of cutting up the choruses and in many of the plays the dialogue as well into sections of various lengths, corresponding in ways the most fantastical and marked by a a′ a″ b b′ b″ c c′ etc. etc. Now this, though at the best somewhat annoying as it spoils the appearance of the printed page, might perhaps be borne with as a harmless fancy, if it did not lead them, not once or twice, but many hundreds of times to carve and dissect passages of which the sense and grammar and metre appear to be unassailable, by transposing verses or parts of verses in the most gratuitous manner, pronouncing this line or sentence to be spurious, or marking a hiatus, where everything follows in

the most logical order: then indeed 'hae nugae seria ducunt in mala'. Their way of proceeding looks often like a reductio ad absurdum of this fashion at present so much in vogue with German scholars. In the chorus of the Hercules Oetaeus, beginning with v. 104, though it does not receive such hard treatment as many other portions of the plays, nevertheless within about 30 lines four quite unexceptionable verses are declared spurious solely in order to carry out this recondite system of a a' b b' c' d' etc. I cite this chorus in order to give what appears to me the right emendation of a passage which not only these editors, but I think Madvig too in his adversaria II p. 125 has not well corrected: 121 following are thus given in the best Mss.

> nos non flamma rapax, non fragor obruit:
> felices sequeris, mors, miseros fugis:
> stamus nec patriis messibus heu locus
> et silvis dabitur lapsaque sordidae
> fient templa casae.

The corrupt third verse may be thus simply corrected: Stamus; nec patriast: messibus heu locus Et silvis dabitur: 'O death, you pursue the happy, fly the wretched: we therefore still stand erect, while our native city is no more: its place will be given up to crops and woodland, etc.': a few lines further on they say 'Quaeretur *patriae* quis fuerit *locus*'. All the change I have made is to read *patriast* for *patriis*, and this enclitic *st* is a perpetual source of corruption, and is often changed as here into *is*: see my note on Aetna 5.

How do our editors proceed: this is what they say: 'v. 122 deleto lacunam aliquot versuum statui. proodum aut stropharum bb' aut cc' vv. 119 sqq. contineri sententia docet'. They accordingly expel one of the most characteristic lines in the chorus, utterly destroy the connexion; and read 'Stamus. nunc patrius messibus heu locus, etc.', *stamus* having now lost all meaning. The reading of Gronovius is very unsatisfactory: Madvig l. l. writes 'nihil est *stamus*, nec malum est messibus et silvis locum dari, nisi indignus tam humili usu datur. scriptum

olim erat: *Funis* nunc patriis messibus heu datur cet.': to me a most improbable conjecture.

These editors are so occupied with their transpositions and omissions and commissions that they seem seldom to find time for a successful correction of the text. Thus, having their attention taken up with the interests of f f', they make a perverse transposition and leave 697 (693) of the Here. Furens, with the older editors, as follows:

> metus, pavorque, funus et frendens dolor,
> aterque luctus sequitur et morbus tremens:

Madvig l. l. p. 112 says that *funus* cannot be right: 'subest adiectivum; sed ex iis quae apta sunt pavori non reperio quod satis prope ad litteras accedat (*foedus, fulsus?*)' Long ago I wrote down 'pavorque effrenus': when the one *e* was absorbed in the other, the corruption followed at once.

In the same play 795 (791) foll., which our editors punctuate perversely in the interests of *h* and *i*, we have

> ut proprior stetit
> Iove natus, antro sedit incertus canis
> et uterque timuit, ecce latratu gravi
> loca muta terret cet.

As it was not possible that Hercules could feel fear, and as *uterque* interrupts the construction, the editors say with justice 'Et uterque *vix sana*'. But their conjecture 'uteroque tumuit' is not happy. Seneca, I feel sure, wrote 'Teterque timuit'.

Doubtless many easy emendations await any one who will examine these plays on the principles of common sense. In the Agamemnon 205 (204) we find in all editions

> victor venit
> Asiae ferocis, ultor Europae: trahit
> captiva Pergama et diu victos Phrygas.

But the Phrygians had only just been conquered: surely we are to read 'diu *in*victos Phryges', the *in* having been absorbed in the preceding *iu*.

Herc. Oetaeus 1741 (1736) the best Ms. gives us

> ast ille medias inter exsurgens faces
> semiustus ac laniatus intrepidus ruens:

Gronovius reads with inferior Mss. *rubens* for the corrupt *ruens:* Peiper and Richter *rigens.* Surely the right reading is *struens:* the *st* was absorbed in the preceding *s*: Hercules, burnt and mangled, without flinching arranges the burning logs to make them blaze more fiercely.

Ib. 1854 (1849) it is said of Niobe

> deflevit aliqua mater et toto stetit
> succissa fetu bisque septenos greges
> deplanxit una.

The 'septenos greges' cannot be right, as it was a flock of fourteen, not fourteen flocks, that Niobe mourned for; nor does our editors' conjecture of *rogos* for *greges* strike me as happy. Did not the poet write 'bisque septenum gregem', *septenum* being the gen. plur.? 'her flock of fourteen': the reason why a transcriber changed *gregem* to *greges* is obvious.

The metres in which the Senecan tragedies are written, or at least the iambic portions shew a great deal of technical power and skill. I think it likely that this peculiar verse, cultivated by Pollio and by Varius in his Thyestes, was still further improved by Ovid in his Medea, and that he may have given to the Latin tragic iambic its final shape, as he did to the Latin hexameter and pentameter. Perhaps the most marked feature of this verse, that which imparts to it its peculiar weight and massiveness, is the fifth foot which must be a spondee or an anapaest, and to make the contrast still more striking between its rhythm and that of the rest of the verse, nine times out of ten the accent of the word and the metrical ictus are in opposition, and this result is often produced by most violent elisions, such as seldom or never occur in the other feet of the verse. When it is said that the fifth foot must be a spondee or anapaest, the exceptions should be mentioned which perhaps confirm the law: among the many thousand iambics in these tragedies six have been pointed out which end in a quadrisyllable with a short first syllable: four of these are

Greek names, Phoronides, Polyxena, Promethei, Capherides, and all paroxytons in Greek: a careful reader of these tragedies will not overlook the point of this remark. Another instance is Medea 515 (512) 'Phoebi nepotes Sisyphi nepotibus': of four words, two of them Greek names, and many verses of Virgil and Ovid will shew what licence of rhythm Greek words permit. The only instance left is Troades 1090 (1080) 'Hic alta rupes cuius in cacumine', but in the thousands of verses there is not one instance of an iambus in that place, when the word containing it is an iambus or cretic or fourth paeon.

This law is violated again and again by Madvig in the second volume of his Adversaria: of the 160 pages which are given to emendations of Latin poets from Plautus to Martial, a good share is devoted to these tragedies. Thus of v. 1294 (1287) of the Herc. Furens, which in the Mss. runs 'Mecum cremabo tota cum domibus suis Dominisque tecta,' he says 'scribendum sine dubio est aut tota cum hominibus suis Dominisque tecta', introducing this metrical solecism: other corrections have been given of the corrupt *domibus:* the whole passage I would confidently arrange as follows:

arma nisi dantur mihi,
aut omne Pindi Thracis excidam nemus
Bacchique lucos et Cithaeronis iuga
mecum cremabo tota; cumve opibus suis
dominisque tecta, cum deis templa omnibus
Thebana supra corpus excipiam meum.

Again in the Oedipus 715 (702) he errs in the same way by reading 'omne quod pĭum est eat': 'omne quod dubium putat' I believe to be right, but then *quod* is the conjunction, not the relative as it is taken to be by the editors: '*because* he believes every thing unsafe': the *obvium* of the best Ms. seems to me to come from the *od* of *quod* being repeated, and *dubium* being written *duuium;* and it is possible that *aestimat* for *putat* would explain the *ē eat* of that Ms.

Then of Medea 410 (407)

quae ferarum immanitas,
quae Scylla, quae Charybdis Ausonium mare

Siculumque sorbens quaeve anhelantem premens
Titana tantis Aetna fervebit minis ?

Madvig observes justly enough 'Medea futurum suum furorem non cum aliis futuris rebus, sed cum iis, quae umquam fuerint cognitaeque sint vehementissimae, comparare debet.' But then he introduces another metrical solecism; 'debebat *ferbuit* (*fervuit*) quod et unum ad rem aptum est et facillime in *fervebit* transiit'; nay rather *ferbuerit*, which is nearer the Ms. reading, suits the sense better, and fully satisfies the metre.

Ibid. 518 (515)

(Ias.) Quid facere possum, loquere. (Med.) pro me ? vel scelus.

On this he observes 'prorsus inane illud *pro me?* nec aptum in Medeae persona *vel* . . . nulla littera mutata verum nascitur:

Ias. Quid facere possim, loquere; promĕ vel scelus':

once again this metrical solecism: 'pro me ? vel scelus' of editions is not right; read 'pro me vel scelus': 'what can I do', says Iason; 'for *me* even crime': for me who have committed so many heinous crimes for you.

On the other hand of Troades 1181 (1172), which is thus given quite correctly by the Mss.

mors, votum meum,
infantibus violenta virginibus venis,
ubique properas saeva, me solam times:

he says 'miror nihil dici de anapaesto tertiae sedis qui manifesto versum vitiat, nihil de copula prave omissa *Infantibus violenta, virginibus':* but *infantibus* is an epithet agreeing with *virginibus;* and the anapaest does not vitiate the verse: in this very play there are seven other exactly similar cases of an anapaest in the third foot: 316 retinesque, 503 latuisse, 525 referamus, 640 trepidasque, 914 sociosque, 952 miseranda, 1158 miserantur; the fact that an anapaest in that place can hardly appear except with the above rhythm accounts for its comparative rarity.

Cobet in the epimetrum to his variae lectiones, p. 403,

speaks with high praise of the illustrious scholar's Adversaria critica: 'sunt palmariae et manifestae emendationes permultae, Latinae quidem quantum quidem iudicare possum *omnes* et Graecarum pars non exigua.' Of the great critic's unrivalled mastery over the classical Latin prose no one has a firmer persuasion than I have; but the *omnes* is far indeed from being true with regard to his emendations of the poets; and when Cobet adds 'quam vellem poetas Graecos et praesertim Atticos non attigisset', I should be inclined to add 'et Romanos'. Not only has he many gross violations of prosody and rhythm; but even when these are avoided, his conjectures too often give token of a weakness which stands out in harsh contrast to the power and success with which he deals with Cicero or Livy. In p. 65 he gives *păr* to Propertius, and makes the greatest of metrists Ovid write in p. 82 *nātasse*, in p. 93 *terrĭcula:* Accius, Lucilius and Afranius will vouch for *terrĭcula:* in p. 98 we find 'scripsit sine dubio Ovidius *păletur':* to Ovid too in p. 86 he gives *ăh en:* 'interiectionem *ah* (*a*) ante *en* corripuit Ovidius, ut Vergilius *o* (*o Alexi*)': but in the two or three instances in which Virgil, Horace and Catullus each leave, and the eleven in which Lucretius leaves a long monosyllable, or one ending in *m*, short and unelided, it is in every case before a short syllable, and the unelided syllable forms the first short syllable of the dactyl: a rhythmical ear feels this to be a necessary condition: Ovid never, I believe, avails himself of this licence, but in no case whatever would *ăh en* be metrical. Again in p. 106 he makes Ovid write 'te laedīs: ille'. Once more in p. 102 he puts a rhythm into his mouth, which Lucretius would have rejected: 'Thyrsus pulsat me, gustata est laurea vobis'. The line is from the ex Ponto II 5 67 and has been maltreated by all editors in various ways: the best Ms. has 'Thyrsus sublestate', which is clearly 'Thyrsus ubi est a te' as is given by another Ms. Ovid is addressing his friend Salanus, a distinguished orator, and says that their several professions have much in common. Moreover when he was young, he himself aimed at the *laurea* of the orator, at the same time that Salanus courted the *thyrsus* of the poet: I would therefore confidently write

thyrsus ubi est a te, gustata est laurea nobis;
et tamen ambobus debet inesse calor:

'what time the thyrsus was essayed by you, the laurel was essayed by me; and yet (to make no account of this) there ought to be in both of us the same heat of inspiration': *et tamen* as so often implies an ellipse to be supplied in thought: see my note on Lucr. v 1177.

In p. 164 he makes Martial, a metrist second only to Ovid, write 'Nunc vivi necem uterque scit bonosque', in which there are two great offences against Martial's principles of rhythm: Schneidewin's correction seems to me both elegant and certain: of his *necuter* Madvig says 'nova voce non recte ficta'; but Lucretius uses both *necuter* and *neque uter*.

Even where the externals of poetry are not violated, his emendations often offend against its inner spirit: thus in p. 147, of a line in Valerius Flaccus 'Ergo opibus magicis et virginitate tremendam Iuno duci sociam coniungere quaerit Achivo' he observes with justice 'virginitas Medeam tremendam non sane faciebat,' and conjectures 'et virga atque arte tremendam', Heinsius having already suggested *et dira...arte*: but how weak the three substantives, all signifying much the same thing! Read rather

ergo opibus magicis, et origine et arte, tremendam;

'awful in magic powers, derived alike through her descent and her own acquired skill': she was daughter of Aeetes, niece of Circe, granddaughter of the Sun and great grand-daughter of Oceanus: Κίρκη ἐυπλόκαμος, δεινὴ θεὸς αὐδήεσσα, Αὐτοκασιγνήτη ὀλοίφρονος Αἰήταο· Ἄμφω δ' ἐκγεγάτην φαεσιμβρότου Ἠελίοιο Μητρός τ' ἐκ Πέρσης, τὴν Ὠκεανὸς τέκε παῖδα.

H. A. J. MUNRO.

EMENDATION OF A PASSAGE IN PROPERTIUS.

Prop. III. xxv. 11, 12., (ed. Paley).

Ah quotiens quernis laesisti frondibus ora
Mansisti stabulis abdita pasta tuis.

In the first number of Hermathena I changed *mansisti* to *mandisti* from *mando* 'to chew.' I also (in "corrigenda") expressed my conviction that *abdita* was corrupt. I was since lent by the late Mr Henry Allen[1] a most beautiful MS. of Propertius (date 1467). I have the best grounds for believing that this MS. is the identical one used by Scaliger (liber Cujacianus): and it supplies us with the means of eliciting a beautiful and certain emendation of the above passage. For, instead of *abdita* it has clearly *abbita*, a vox nihili, under which lies the true reading *arbuta*. Mr Munro notices that *arbuta* was sometimes written *arbita*, Lucr. *Pref.* p. 37, ed. 3.

Read: MANDISTI stabulis ARBUTA pasta tuis.

For the arbutus twigs, a favourite food for cattle, the reader may compare Virg *Georg.* III. 300,

iubeo frondentia capris
Arbuta sufficere,

and other passages.

But the strongest confirmation of the emendation is to be found in Ovid *Met.* I. 632, where, speaking of this same Io, he writes, according to the reading justly preferred by Heinsius,

Frondibus arbuteis et amara pascitur herba.

ARTHUR PALMER.

[1] The MS. is now in the possession of Mr S. Allen, of Dublin.

NOTES ON CERTAIN DERIVATIONS.

I DO not propose to illustrate the phonetic bearings of the derivations I am about to suggest as the correspondencies and changes are all in accordance with generally received analogies.

I begin with the word *αἰκάλλω*, "*to flatter*," or "*fawn upon*," which Curtius considers an instance of metathesis, and connects his *ἀκιάλλω* with *ἀκέομαι*.—It seems more probable that we have here a loss of the initial guttural tenuis before another guttural in the same word as in *ἴχλα* (Hesychius) for *κίχλα*, *ὄγχνη* for *κόγχνη* (Hesychius), *ἐχλεύασται*, most probably *ὄκνος* for *κόκνος*. (Curtius, 3rd ed. p. 660, &c.) *καικάλλω* I take to have been an intensive frequentative form from root of *κόλαξ*: cf. *δαιδάλλω*. Another instance of this loss of initial *κ* appears in the forms *ὄσχος*, *ὄσχη* for *κοσκος*, *κοσκη*: exactly corresponding to Skt. çākhā, identical in meaning with the Greek. This account separates it, of course, from *ὄζος* and *μόσχος*.

One of my pupils again has suggested that *ὀκλάζω* is for *κοκλάζω* from the root *kak;* cp. Skt. root *kuch,* which Grassmann recognizes in *κάμπτω*, *καμπη*, and Corssen in Lat. *conquinisco.* With this I should connect *κοχώνη*, Lat. *coxa*, and also Lat. *conor.* The primary meaning of "*bending*" is changed into that of "*exerting oneself*" in Lat. *nitor.*

With regard to *ἐπίῤῥοθος*, it has occurred to me as possible that it is not the Homeric word which occurs Hesiod W. and D. 560 *τῆμος τῶμισυ βουσὶν, ἐπ' ἀνέρι δὲ πλέον εἴη Ἀρμαλιῆς· μακραὶ γὰρ ἐπίῤῥοθοι εὐφρόναι εἰσί;* but that this word is connected with *βλαστός*, &c., from the root *vardh*, "*increase.*" However, Aeschylus Sept. cont. Theb. 360 may have had this

passage of Hesiod in his mind, and if so, can hardly have understood it as I suggest.

I wish to point out that the Aeschylean ἴχαρ and the forms ἰχάω, ἰχαίνω point to a root *is* which we find in Skt. in the form *ish*. The Skt. present base *ichchha* points to a form *isk* for *issk*, and therefore I think that the form ἰσχανάω, "*I desire*," may be connected with the Hesychian ἰχάω, ἰχαίνω, and ἴχαρ, all containing secondary forms of the root whence ἰότης, ἵμερος.

Κόχυ, πολύ Hesychius is connected by Curtius with the root of χέω, but on the other hand the Skt. adverb *çaçvat* "*perpetually*" corresponds exactly in sound and sufficiently in sense. The existence of κόχυ then is a reason against Benfey's connection of ἅπας with *çaçvant*.

μάρπτω has been generally referred to the root *vark;* but I think this instance should be deducted from the small list of words in which *m* represents *v*: as we have the Skt. *mriç*, "*to touch*," which, compounded with *parâ* and *pari*, means "*to seize*."

Pars is generally connected with *portio*, πορεῖν, but the Skt. *pat* (with a lingual *t*) "*to split, divide*" probably for an earlier *part* seems to me to throw a doubt on the accepted derivation. The lingual *t* can generally be analysed into *rt* or *st*.

ἐνοπή and ἠπεροπεύω are generally referred to the root *vak:* but compounds with digammated forms are comparatively rare in Homer, and I do not see why they should not be referred to the root *sak*.

χάρμη I think may be connected with our *skirmish*, O. H. G. *skirm, skerm*, "*a shield*," and ἡμέρα with Skt. *yâma*.

C. A. M. FENNELL.

ORIGIN OF THE WORD 'GYPSY.'

THE connection of the Gypsies with Egypt and the origin of their name has long been an insoluble, or possibly only an unsolved problem. It is absolutely certain, that they did not come to Europe by way of Egypt, and that their connection with that country is simply nil. A new solution of this curious question has been proposed by Count Rudolf Wratislaw, of Mitrovitz, in his "Versuch einer Darstellung der Lebensweise, Herkunft und Sprache der Zigeuner im Allgemeinen und der in Oesterreich lebenden Zigeuner insbesondere,' which was written at the request of the Archduchess Elizabetha Francisca Maria of Austria, and printed at Prague in 1868.

The Gypsies appeared for the first time in Europe in 1417, in the country of Moldavia, in the 19th year of Alexander the Good, and thence spread rapidly over all parts of Europe. They uniformly gave themselves out for Egyptians, and their principal leaders claimed the title of "Dukes of Egypt." In 1418 they appeared in Switzerland and in 1422 at Bologna in Italy. They reached the neighbourhood of Paris in 1427.

Examination of their language has long proved them to be an Indian clan, and it is manifest, that they came round the Black Sea and entered Europe by the valley of the Danube without having the slightest connection with Egypt in Africa. But whence could they have obtained or assumed the name of 'Gypsies' and their leaders the title of 'Dukes of Egypt'?

Count Rudolf Wratislaw suggests, that there was an "Egypt" lying upon their actual route, from which the leaders might easily have taken their name and title. There was an "Aegypsos" near the mouth of the Danube, of which mention is

made several times by Ovid in his Epistles from Pontus, which he wrote from a spot not far distant from that of the gypsies' first appearance in Europe. In Ep. Ex. Pont. I. viii. 11, he says, writing to his friend Severus:

"Stat vetus Urbs, ripae vicina binominis Istri,
Moenibus et positu vix adeunda loci.
Caspius Aegypsus de se, si creditur ipsis,
Condidit, et proprio nomine dixit opus."

And again iv. vii. 19, writing to Vestalis:

"Non negat hoc Ister, cujus tua dextera quondam
Puniceam Getico sanguine fecit aquam.
Non negat Aegypsos, quae te subeunte recepta
Sensit in ingenio nil opis esse loci.
Nam dubium, positu melius defensa manuve,
Urbs erat in summo nubibus aequa jugo."

And finally, 53:

"Vincitur Aegypsos; testataque tempus in omne
Sunt tua, Vestalis, carmine facta meo."

Now what could be more likely than that the gypsies should have settled temporarily in or near the remains of this Aegypsos, and that their leaders should have taken a kind of title from it? This is a part of Europe, which has not been much explored by travellers, and it would be an interesting object for a traveller to ascertain whether the name of Aegypsos still survives in or near the locality of the ancient town and fortress. Its existence there would go far to prove Count R. Wratislaw's theory, while its non-existence would not absolutely disprove it. For a name, which was current 450 years ago, might since then easily have disappeared and 'left not a rack behind.'

A. H. WRATISLAW.

ON THE WORD GLAMOUR AND THE LEGEND OF GLAM.

In the Grettis Saga there is a wild legend how Grettir kills the ghost Glam who haunted Thorhall's farm. There was a long and fierce struggle between them, but at last "Glam fell open-armed aback out of the house and Grettir over him. Bright moonlight was there without, and the drift was broken, now drawn over the moon, now driven from off her; and even as Glam fell, a cloud was driven from the moon, and Glam glared up against her. And Grettir himself said that by that sight only was he dismayed amidst all that he ever saw." Glam then spoke to him as he was dying, "This weird I lay on thee, ever in those days to see these eyes with thine eyes, and thou wilt find it hard to be alone,—and that shall drag thee unto death." (See Magnusson and Morris' translation, p. 109). The spell soon begins to work, for in the next page we read, "herein he found the greatest change, in that he was become so fearsome a man in the dark that he durst go nowhither alone after nightfall, for then he seemed to see all kinds of horrors. And that has fallen since into a proverb that Glam lends eyes or gives glamsight (glám-sýni) to those who see things nowise as they are." Mr Magnusson has given me from the Sturlunga Saga a very interesting instance of glamsight which occurs in the description of a battle before daylight.

En þá er ljóst var orðit, gaf þeim glámsýni, er til varu kvamnir, ok sýndist þeim sem menn færo hvaðanæva at þeim; en þar sáo þeir torfhrauka ok stakkgarða, þvi hèluþoka var um mýrarnar, ok mændu upp or kollarnir.

"But when it was daylight the sight of those who had arrived became glamour stricken, and it seemed to them as if they were set upon by men from everywhere; but what they saw were turf-ricks and stack-yards (winter shelter for horses),

the bogs being enveloped in rime-mist, and the tops (of the ricks and the stacks) standing out of (the fog or mist)."

Glam, or in the nominative glamr, is also a poetical name for the moon. It does not actually occur in the ancient literature, but it is given in the glossary in the Prose Edda (p. 96, ed. 1818) in the list of the very old words for the moon, "Túngl; máni, ny, nið, ártali, mulenn, fengari, glámr, &c." Vigfusson, in his Dictionary, says, "the word is interesting on account of its identity with Scot. *glamour*, which shews that the tale of Glam was common to Scotland and Iceland, and thus much older than Grettir (of the year 1014)[1]."

The ghost or goblin Glam seems evidently to have arisen from a personification of the delusive and treacherous effects of moonlight on the benighted traveller,

> Quale per incertam lunam sub luce malignâ
> Est iter in sylvis.

Now there is a curious old Sanskrit word *glau* or *gláv*, which is explained in all the old native lexicons as meaning 'the moon.' It is given in the Unádi sútras, which are probably older than Pánini, and we also find it in the Amarakosha, Hemachandra's lexicon, and the Mediní. It is derived by the native grammarians from the root *glá*, 'to be disgusted' or 'wearied,' and then 'to fail, decrease.' It might either be taken as 'waning,' or with a causal sense, 'obscuring.' The word never occurs as meaning 'moon' in the old literature; it occurs once in the Aitareya Bráhmana, I. 25, and once in the Atharva Veda, VI. 83, 3, but as meaning some kind of wasting sickness; but the consensus of the old lexicographers proves that it must have been found in some passage now lost. The St Petersburgh Dict. would connect the word with *globus*, *glomus;* but is it possible that this is an old word for the moon connected with the

[1] Mr Alex. J. Ellis writes in the Athenæum, Dec. 19, 1874, that Prince Louis Lucien Bonaparte informed him that the word *gloam* for *moon* is not yet extinct in the modern Shetland dialect. "During his stay in Scotland he obtained the word from three or four old men, who assured him that it was still used in certain phrases. The word is in the Prince's MS. Shetland Dict., and in Mr T. Edmonstone's Shetland Vocabulary, printed by the Philological Society (London)."

Norse glam or glamr, and so mediately connected with the legend of Glam? The following lines, from an early mediæval poet[1], Bhása, will illustrate the deceptive character of moonlight from a Hindu point of view. The strong and wild Norse imagination delights in what is terrible and gloomy; the Hindu loves to dwell on the milder and quieter aspects of human life. Bhása is a poet who lived not later than the beginning of the seventh century of our era, for he is praised, as a dramatist, by Bána in his Harsha-charita (see Dr Hall's Preface to his edition of Vásavadattá, p. 14).

Kapále márjárí paya iti karán ledhi śaśinas,
Taruchchhidraprotán visam iti karí sankalayati;
Ratánte talpasthán harati vanitá 'py amśukam iti,
Prabhámattaś chandro jagad idam aho viplavayati.

"The cat laps the moonbeams in the bowl of water thinking them to be milk; the elephant thinks that the moonbeams, threaded through the intervals of the trees, are the fibres of the lotus-stalk. The woman snatches at the moonbeams as they lie on the bed, taking them for her muslin garment; oh, the moon intoxicated with radiance bewilders all the world!"

A similar passage, no doubt imitated from this, is also quoted in the Sáhitya-darpana.

Mugdhá dugdha-dhiyá gavám vidadhate kumbhán adho vallaváh,
Karne kairava-śankayá kuvalayam kurvanti kántá api,
Karkandhú-phalam uchchinoti śavarí muktáphalákánkshayá,
Sándrá chandramaso na kasya kurute chitta-bhramam chandriká.

"The bewildered herdsmen place the pails under the cows, thinking that the milk is flowing; the maidens also put the blue lotus blossom in their ears, thinking that it is the white; the mountaineer's wife snatches up the jujube fruit, avaricious for pearls. Whose mind is not led astray by the thickly clustering moonbeams?"

E. B. COWELL.

[1] The lines are quoted anonymously in the rhetorical work, the *Kávya-prakáśa*, book x., p. 342, but they are directly quoted as Bhása's, in the Śárngadhara-paddhati.

HERACLITUS AND AMMIANUS MARCELLINUS.

Printing has done much to make us ignore a kind of error to which ancient and medieval writers were constantly liable—I mean errors as to the area or limits of quotations in the books they read. It is evident that, in the absence of inverted commas, italics, marks of parenthesis, and similar devices, every one was left to his own resources in doubtful instances; the natural consequence being that a reader who lacked the sense of style or due acquaintance with literature, was as likely as not to draw the line at the wrong point, to curtail or enlarge a citation, and to transmit it in his turn to those coming after him in some new or modified shape. An account of such errors and of the misconceptions to which they have given rise, would probably be one of the most curious chapters of literary history. Some may remember that even in this critical age of ours an eminent scholar, Mr Wölfflin, gravely set about restoring Caecilius Balbus, the imaginary author of an imaginary book, the idea of which we now know (thanks mainly to Mr Reifferscheid) to have originated in a misread page of John of Salisbury. Late Classical writers, I suspect, abound in mistakes arising from the source here indicated: a careful criticism of their citations would perhaps lead to a conclusion somewhat disturbing to our scientific equanimity, namely, that not a few fragments of lost authors (more especially of lost prose authors) appear in our received collections with worse than dubious credentials. As it is not always possible to expose these impostors, it may be worth while to trace the antecedents of a pretended Heraclitean dictum, in which a Leipzic scholar conceives himself to have discovered a genuine fragment.

The story is a short one: it begins with Plutarch, who in his treatise *De cohibenda ira* (c. 9) writes as follows:—

Ἀνθρώπων μὲν γὰρ κρατῆσαι καὶ χείροσι βελτιόνων ὑπῆρξε· τὸ δ' ἐν ψυχῇ στῆσαι κατὰ θυμοῦ τρόπαιον (ᾧ χαλεπὸν εἶναι διαμάχεσθαι, φησὶν Ἡράκλειτος· ὅ τι γὰρ ἂν θέλῃ ψυχῆς ὠνεῖται) μεγάλης ἐστὶ καὶ νικητικῆς ἰσχύος.

Here we at once distinguish what Heraclitus said from its context, because our editors save us all trouble on this score by enclosing his words in a parenthesis; I need hardly observe that the extent of the parenthesis is not an open question, as the same citation occurs in what is practically the same form in Aristotle and elsewhere. Ammianus Marcellinus, however, was not equally fortunate: he read the above passage and, strange as it may perhaps seem, succeeded in misreading it. Speaking of the unamiable character of the Emperor Constantius, he seizes the opportunity of throwing in a few general reflexions, among which occurs this choice specimen of the Latinity of the *décadence:*

Id Ephesius quoque Heraclitus adserens monet *ab inertibus et ignauis euentus uariante fortuna superatos aliquotiens uiros fuisse praestantes: illud uero eminere inter praecipuas laudes, cum potestas in gradu, uelut sub iugum missa nocendi saeuiendi cupiditate et irascendi, in arce uictoris animi tropaeum erexerit gloriosum* (XXI. 16, 14).

A comparison between this and the passage from Plutarch makes the situation as regards Ammianus pretty intelligible. In order to find a commonplace on resentment he had recourse to some gnomologium which presented an excerpt with a Heraclitean citation parenthetically introduced: failing to see the limits of the parenthesis, he hastily assumed the whole excerpt to be Heraclitean; and a singular perversity led him to make matters worse by the suppression of the very parenthesis which contained a familiar and indisputable fragment. Not content with thus mangling the excerpt and fathering it on the wrong man, he went further and proceeded to adorn his translation (if translation is an appropriate term for such a sorry performance)

with cheap flowers of rhetoric which are all his own[1]. In the final result, then, there is something of Plutarch (misunderstood) and a great deal of Ammianus, but not so much as a vestige of anything that Heraclitus ever wrote or (if I may venture to say so) could have written.

Here, however, I come into collision with an authority on this subject, for I find that Dr Paul Schuster, author of a monograph on Heraclitus occupying no less than 400 pages of Ritschl's Acta Societatis Philologae Lipsiensis, takes the opposite view—apparently without the doubts and misgivings which naturally suggest themselves, the moment one reads the passage from Plutarch. He must be quite clear that the words of Ammianus have the genuine Heraclitean stamp and ring about them, since he tries the bold experiment of "retranslating" them almost word for word into Greek, so as to restore the ipsissima verba of the great Ephesian. The original, it seems, was "something like this:"—

ὑπὸ νωθέων καὶ δειλῶν νικηθέντες τύχης εἰκῇ κρατεούσης ἔστιν ὅτε ἄνδρες ἐγένοντο γενναῖοι· ἐκεῖνο δὲ διαπρέπει ἐν μεγίστοις ἐπαίνοισι, ἢν τὸ κράτος ἐν τέλει ἐὸν ὅκωσπερ ἐξανδραποδισθείσης τῆς τοῦ ἀδικέειν καὶ μαίνεσθαι καὶ θυμοῦσθαι ἐπιθυμίης ἐν τῇ ἀκροπόλει νενικηκότος νόου τροπαῖον ἀναστήσῃ μεγαλόδοξον.

I still believe that the original is actually extant in Plutarch, and that it is *not* necessary to suppose Heraclitus to have written anything in the least like the above experimental restoration of the language of the Ἰάδες Μοῦσαι.

[1] The literary demerits of Ammianus are great and notorious: Gibbon says of him that "his love of ambitious ornaments frequently betrayed him into an unnatural vehemence of expression," which is true, but by no means the whole truth. Bernhardy's criticism is much more severe and searching (R. L. p. 767, ed. 5).

I. BYWATER.

MISCELLANEOUS NOTES.

Horace. Sat. II. i. 86.

'Solventur risu tabulae, tu missus abibis."

I THINK a very simple explanation will suffice to remove all the obscurity of this 'locus difficilis', as Orelli calls it. I believe *three* voting tablets were given to each judex at the commencement of a trial. Now it is surely reasonable to suppose that these were not given to him *loose*, but fastened together with packthread, string, tape, or something of the kind. At the conclusion of the trial the judices would naturally *unfasten* these tablets for the purpose of recording their votes. I therefore translate with great confidence:

'The tablets will be unfastened with a smile, you will depart acquitted.'

In prose we should have found *cum risu* rather than *risu* alone.

Eurip. Med. 297.

χωρὶς γὰρ ἄλλης ἧς ἔχουσιν ἀργίας,
φθόνον πρὸς ἀστῶν ἀλφάνουσι δυσμενῆ.

I think *ἀργία* simply implies abstinence from manual labour. In this sense one who worked with his head would be *ἀργὸς*, as compared with one who worked with his hands. 'For over and above the abstinence from manual labour which they display, such persons incur dangerous envy from the townspeople.'

Ibid. 377.

οὐκ οἶδ' ὁποίᾳ πρῶτον ἐγχειρῶ φίλαι,
πότερον κ.τ.λ.

I think ὁποίᾳ is not the dative after ἐγχειρῶ, but an adverb of the class of πῇ and ὅπη = δι' ὁποίας. 'I don't know which kind of way to make the attempt first.'

Ibid. 1052.

τὸ καὶ προέσθαι μαλθακοὺς λόγους φρενὶ (or φρενός).

Whether φρενὶ or φρενὸς be here read is immaterial to the remark I am about to make. That is, that φρενὶ or φρενὸς is surely mentally opposed to γλώσσῃ or γλώσσης, and that Medea is expressing her shame at uttering fainthearted language and *meaning it*. She uttered μαλθακοὶ λόγοι enough to Jason γλώσσῃ, ἀλλ' οὐ φρενὶ, in order to deceive him. Compare φρενόθεν γ' in Soph. Ajax 183.

Aeschylus, Eumenides 581.

σὺ δ' εἴσαγε
ὅπως τ' ἐπίστᾳ τήνδε κύρωσον δίκην.

Compare this with 638 and 639:

ταύτην τοιαύτην εἶπον, ὡς δηχθῇ λεὼς,
ὅσπερ τέτακται τήνδε κυρῶσαι δίκην·

and we shall see that very cognate senses of κυρόω will satisfy both passages.

In the first place: 'And do thou as archon or president, after ἀνάκρισις or preliminary hearing, introduce this cause into court, as thou well knowest how, and put it on such a footing as to be finally decided, by making it κυρίαν in a court of final instance.'

In the second place: 'I have stated this woman to be such, that the people may be rendered indignant, who have been appointed to settle this lawsuit as a court of final instance.'

Aeschylus appears to be insisting, for reasons of his own, upon the finality of the decisions of the Areopagus. And in every passage of Aeschylus and the one passage of Euripides, in which *κυρόω* occurs, the idea of finality appears included in and intended to be conveyed by it. It is El. 1069, *τῆς θυγατρὸς πρὶν κεκυρῶσθαι σφαγάς.* 'Before the sacrifice of your daughter has been irrevocably settled.'

Thucydides IV. 18.

σωφρόνων δ' ἀνδρῶν οἵτινες τἀγαθὰ ἐς ἀμφίβολον ἀσφαλῶς ἔθεντο· καὶ ταῖς συμφοραῖς οἱ αὐτοὶ εὐξυνετώτερον ἂν προσφέροιντο· τόν τε πόλεμον νομίσωσι μὴ καθ' ὅσον ἄν τις αὐτοῦ μέρος βούληται, τούτῳ ξυνεῖναι, ἀλλ' ὡς ἂν αἱ τύχαι αὐτῶν ἡγήσωνται.

The difficulties in this passage are far more apparent than real, and will be found to vanish entirely under a careful analysis with a fair allowance for the seeming capriciousness, but real sensitiveness to shades of expression and meaning, which is characteristic of the Greek mind. Thus the change of mood from *ἔθεντο* to *νομίσωσι* is to be accounted for by the writer proceeding after the quasi-parenthesis: *καὶ ταῖς συμφοραῖς—ἂν προσφέροιντο·* as if *ἐάν τινες* had stood instead of *οἵτινες*. *ὅστις* is followed by a distant subjunctive in a very similar manner in Soph. Aj. 760,

ὅστις ἀνθρώπου φύσιν
βλαστὼν ἔπειτα μὴ κατ' ἄνθρωπον φρονῇ.

Secondly, if we transpose the clauses *μὴ καθ' ὅσον ἄν τις αὐτοῦ μέρος βούληται* and *τούτῳ συνεῖναι*, which stand to each other logically, though not grammatically, in the relation of relative and antecedent, we shall find that, by writing *τινι* for *τούτῳ* and *οὗτος* for *τις*, we shall have the equivalent to a

regular English sentence without the inversion, which exists in the Greek. Lastly, the above considerations will of themselves explain *αὐτῶν* in the last clause, which manifestly refers to the persons implied by the indefinite *τις*. Rewriting the sentence for the purpose of explanation in accordance with these remarks, we have:

σωφρόνων δὲ ἀνδρῶν οἵτινες τἀγαθὰ ἐς ἀμφίβολον ἀσφαλῶς ἔθεντο· καὶ ταῖς συμφοραῖς οἱ αὐτοὶ εὐξυνετώτερον ἂν προσφέροιντο· τόν τε πόλεμον [ἐάν τινες] νομίσωσί τινι ξυνεῖναι, μὴ καθ' ὅσον ἂν οὗτος αὐτοῦ μέρος βούληται μεταχειρίζειν, ἀλλ' ὡς ἂν αἱ τύχαι αὐτῶν [τῶν πολεμούντων] ἡγήσωνται.

'These come under the category of soundminded people, who, keeping on the safe side, set down their advantages in the doubtful column of the ledger—and the same persons will deal more intelligently with their misfortunes—and [so do those come under the same category] who consider that war does not associate with a man just according to the portion thereof which he wishes to take in hand, but as the fortunes of the belligerent parties shall lead the way.'

Ibid. IV. 28. 1.

τῶν Ἀθηναίων τι ὑποθορυβησάντων ἐς τὸν Κλέωνα ὅτι οὐ καὶ νῦν πλεῖ [πλέοι], εἰ ῥᾴδιόν γε αὐτῷ φαίνεται.

This passage appears to me extremely awkward with the usual construction of *ὅτι* = 'because' or 'that'. Removing the *ὅτι*, it cannot be reduced to the oratio recta. They could not have said to him: *οὐ καὶ νῦν πλεῖς, εἰ ῥᾴδιόν γε σοὶ φαίνεται*; But if for *ὅτι* we write *ὅ, τι*, the indirect interrogative, we find the exact words, which the Athenians were likely to have used: *τί οὐ καὶ νῦν πλεῖς, εἰ ῥᾴδιόν γε σοὶ φαίνεται*; There was no reason for blaming Cleon for not sailing; indeed he was not a general and had no authority to do so. When they gave him the hint, he took it, and made a good thing of it.

Ibid. VI. 11. 6.

ὥστε οὐ περὶ τῶν ἐν Σικελίᾳ Ἐγεσταίων ἡμῖν, ἀνδρῶν βαρβάρων, ὁ ἀγὼν, εἰ σωφρονοῦμεν, ἀλλ' ὅπως πόλιν δι' ὀλιγαρχίας ἐπιβουλεύουσαν ὀξέως φυλαξόμεθα.

It appears to me that the words *δι' ὀλιγαρχίας* are merely equivalent to the adjective *ὀλιγαρχικὴν*, and that *διὰ* simply expresses 'in a state of', which is no uncommon meaning. Such prepositional expressions are common enough and unambiguous when an article is prefixed to them, but without the article they must always be more or less ambiguous, and are rather avoided than otherwise by careful writers on account of their ambiguity. I have attempted to shew that the difficulty in an awkward passage of the Epistle to the Romans (iii. 30) is only to be solved in a similar manner, *i.e.* by taking *περιτομὴν ἐκ πίστεως* as a compound expression = 'believing members of the circumcision', (Journal of Philology, III. 256). In Herod. I. 206 we have *δι' ησυχίας εἶναι*, 'to be in a state of tranquillity', and in Thucyd. VI. 59 *ὁ Ἱππίας διὰ φόβου ἤδη μᾶλλον ὤν*, "Hippias being now to a greater extent in a state of fear."

In Eurip. Med. 803 we have

> *οὔτ' ἐξ ἐμοῦ γὰρ παῖδας ὄψεταί ποτε*
> *ζῶντας τὸ λοιπὸν οὔτε τῆς νεοζύγου*
> *νύμφης τεκνώσει παῖδα.*

Here *ἐξ ἐμοῦ παῖδας* is clearly a compound expression of which *ζῶντας* is a tertiary predicate.

Ibid. VI. 16. 2.

νόμῳ μὲν γὰρ τιμὴ τὰ τοιαῦτα, ἐκ δὲ τοῦ δρωμένου καὶ δύναμις ἅμα ὑπονοεῖται.

The opposition in this sentence is clearly between *νόμῳ* and *ἐκ τοῦ δρωμένου*. I think the latter expression refers to the *practical* result as opposed to recognized theoretical usage, and translate:

'For such things are by recognized usage an honour, while *practically* power alsò is supposed to be in the background.'

Dale translates: 'For according to the usual view of them such things are a subject of honour, while *from the practice of them* an idea of power is also formed.' Here, besides weakening the antithesis, the translation draws *καὶ* away from its position before and connexion with *δύναμις*.

Eph. vi. 2.

ἥτις ἐστὶν ἐντολὴ πρώτη ἐν ἐπαγγελίᾳ.

There is a good deal of difficulty in the expression *πρώτη ἐν ἐπαγγελίᾳ*. Winer takes it as signifying 'first in point of promise', whereby he appears to understand 'chief in point of promise'. He quotes no passage from any writer to support his view, but simply negatives the explanation which confines itself to understanding the 5th as the 1st commandment 'additâ, annexâ promissione'. I shall quote a passage from Thucydides II. 29, which is so exactly parallel to the explanation rejected by Winer, that no doubt of its correctness remains in my mind. There it is said of Teres: *βασιλεύς τε πρῶτος ἐν κράτει Ὀδρυσῶν ἐγένετο*. Here *πρῶτος ἐν κράτει* clearly means, that Teres was the first powerful king of the Odrysians. Hence *ἐντολὴ πρώτη ἐν ἐπαγγελίᾳ* will mean 'the first promissory commandment' or 'the first commandment with a promise.'

A. H. WRATISLAW.

Duumviri and Triumviri.

THERE appear to be two forms in which these words are written: *duoviri duumviri* (*duomvires* Nom. Plur. in an inscription of the Sullan age C. I. L. I. 1149) *tresviri triumviri*. *Duoviri* and *tresviri* seem to be the usual forms in official documents, *duumviri* and *triumviri* in literature. The singulars *duomvir* and *triumvir* occur however in inscriptions: for the former see C. I. L. I. 1107, and for the latter ib. 198, 16 (the *Lex Repetundarum* of B.C. 103).

What are these forms *duum* and *trium*? To take them as genitives involves a far-fetched and hardly Latin way of speaking. I venture to suggest that *duum* and *trium* are neuter substantives corresponding in form to the Sanskrit *dvayám* and *trayám* = (in meaning) δυάς and τριάς. These words are used in Sanskrit at the end of compounds (as if we were to say a *pipe-dozen* for a *dozen pipes*) as the word *çatám* (= a hundred) may also be. If therefore it be objected that in Latin *duum* and *trium* are always found as numerals prefixed to a plural, whereas in Sanskrit they are always used as the last part of a compound, it may be replied that the use of *centum* is similarly limited in Latin, while in Sanskrit *çatám* may be used both in composition and as an ordinary numeral.

Supposing *duum* and *trium* to be neuter nouns used as numerals, this use as indeclinables with all cases would correspond with the use of the great majority of numerals in Latin, and especially with that of the two neuter nouns *centum* and *mille*.

Saeculum.

This word, as is well known, has two senses, one peculiar to Lucretius who uses it for *race, kind* (*saecla ferarum, ad sua*

saecla recedunt, &c.), and the other common to all Latin, the meaning, namely, of *period of time*. Büchler has connected the word with the base *să to sow*, an idea which also occurred independently to the present writer. The difficulty in the way of this etymology is not the ending of the word: for although the ending *-colum* in Latin usually denotes the instrument by which an action is carried out (*po-culum, everri-culum, fer-culum*, &c.), this is not always the case, as is shewn by the instance of *periculum* (= *a going through, a trial*). So far, therefore, there would be no difficulty in making *saeculum* = *a sowing*, and thus *a generation*, either in the sense of *a race* or *a period*. The difficulty is rather that supposing *saeculum* to be connected with *să*, we should expect in Latin either *săculum* or *sāculum* or *seculum* (compare *să-tus* with *sē-vi*). The name of the god *Saeturnus* (or *Saiturnus*) more commonly *Sāturnus* has similarly been supposed to mean *the god of sowing*. But other etymologists have inclined, perhaps more correctly, to make *Saiturnus* = *Saviturnus*, and connect the name with the base *su, to generate*. If this be right, perhaps *saeculum* may be taken to stand for *saviculum* (comp. *caelum* for *cavilum*), and to mean originally a *generation*: then either (as with Lucretius) *a race, kind*, or (as in ordinary Latin) *the period during which a race lives*.

Superstes, Superstitio, Superstitiosus.

From Plautus ap. Festum, p. 305 (Müller), and Cicero Murena § 26, it appears that *superstes* had, in old Latin, the sense of a witness ("Superstites testes praesentes significat" Festus l. c.). It is equally clear that *superstitiosus* in old Latin meant not *superstitious*, but *prophetic*, whether of seers or of their utterances. Plautus Amph. 1 1 170 "Illic homo *superstitiosus* est vates": Curc. 3 1 27 "*Superstitiosus* hic quidem est: vera praedicat": Rudens 4 4 94 "Quid si ista aut *superstitiosa* aut ariola est atque omnia Quicquid insit, vera dicit?" Ennius Trag. 79 (Vahlen) "Missa sum *superstitiosis* ariolationibus:" Poet. ap. Cic. de Div. 2 § 115 "Sancte Apollo, qui umbilicum certum terrarum obtines, Unde *superstitiosa* primum saeva

evasit vox foras." And with a sneer Ennius Trag. 356 "*superstitiosi* vates impudentesque arioli."

There are traces in Latin, I venture to think, which seem to shew that *superstitio* once had the sense of *prediction.* Cicero says (de Div. 2 § 129) "Utrum philosophia dignius, *sagarum superstitione* ista interpretari an explicatione naturae", *i.e. by the pretended knowledge or foresight of wise women:* and so in the concrete, of the instruments of such foresight, "his *superstitionibus* non dubitasti etiam omina adiungere" (ib. § 83).

Nor again are *superstitio* and *superstitiosus* even in other senses always words of reproach. In Cicero Har. Resp. § 12 "quae tanta religio est qua non in nostris dubitationibus atque in maximis *superstitionibus* liberemur" *superstitio* seems to mean *anxious thought, pondering over religious matters,* so Virgil Aen. 8 187 "Vana *superstitio* veterumque ignara deorum", which implies that there might be such a thing as a *vera superstitio:* and in the concrete (of the Styx) Aen. 12 817 "Una *superstitio* superis quae reddita divis." So *superstitiosus* may mean simply *anxious, scrupulous in matters of religion:* Cic. de Domo § 105 "modum quendam esse religionis, *nimium* esse *superstitiosum* non oportere": so the Stoic doctrine of divination (de Div. 2 § 190) is called "nimis superstitiosa."

Besides their ordinary senses therefore we find that these words connote two things: *power of foresight,* and *anxious reflection.* This fact, I think, may be explained if we suppose that *superstitio* originally meant *being present at* (comp. *superstes*), and hence *knowledge of a thing,* or *pondering over a thing.* The words were determined almost exclusively to religious associations, before the formation of literary Latin as we have it. But even within those limits we see that *superstitiosus* once had the meaning of *wise, seeing.* It seems probable that it must once have meant *wise* in general, and that this sense was subsequently forgotten. The Greek *ἐπί-στα-μαι,* supposing it originally to mean *to stand over a thing,* offers a striking illustration of the etymology above suggested.

H. NETTLESHIP.

ON DISLOCATIONS IN THE TEXT OF THE FIFTH BOOK OF THE [NICOMACHEAN] ETHICS.

In [Nic.] Eth. v. 9 § 8, we read, *ἔτι δ' ὧν προειλόμεθα δύ' ἔστιν εἰπεῖν, πότερόν ποτ' ἀδικεῖ ὁ νείμας παρὰ τὴν ἀξίαν τὸ πλεῖον ἢ ὁ ἔχων, καὶ εἰ ἔστιν αὐτὸν αὑτὸν ἀδικεῖν.* The questions here proposed for discussion having been partially considered in the next five sections, §§ 9—13, four sections succeed which it is difficult to harmonize with their surroundings. A sense of the incongruity seems to underlie the following note in the commentary of Sir Alexander Grant:

"14—17. These sections contain remarks concluding the subject of justice. As they correct popular errors regarding its nature, they may be considered a continuation of the *ἀπορίαι*, with which the chapter commenced. The views which are here combated are (1) a shallow and external notion about justice and injustice as if they merely consisted in outward acts; (2) a sophistical opinion that to know justice merely consists in knowing the details of the laws, cf. Eth. x. ix. 20; (3) an opinion that justice implies its contrary, as if it were an art (*δύναμις*); see above ch. 1 § 4. This opinion," &c.

It will be observed that Sir A. Grant, though he has headed his note '14—17', says not a word here about § 17, but instinctively leaves that section to be dealt with in a separate note, in which he rightly refers the reader to 1 § 9 as a parallel passage.

Now on examination it will be noticed (1) that §§ 14—16 belong to a preliminary review of popular notions about *δίκαιον* and *ἄδικον*, such as that with which the book opens, rather than to a supplementary investigation of *ἀπορίαι* in regard to

τὸ ἀδικεῖν; (2) that § 17, which limits the sphere of *ἡ κατὰ μέρος δικαιοσύνη*[1] to human society, has nothing to do either with §§ 14—16, or with §§ 8—13; (3) that the sections now in question are succeeded in ch. 10 by an investigation of *ἐπιείκεια* and its relations to *δικαιοσύνη*, which is admitted on all hands to be wrongly placed, inasmuch as in ch. 11 the subject partially discussed in 9 §§ 8—13 is resumed.

Thus not merely ch. 10, as has been commonly supposed, but the whole passage, from the words *οἱ δ' ἄνθρωποι* in 9 § 14 to the words *ἑτέρα τις ἕξις* at the end of ch. 10, is intrusive: and furthermore the intruded passage consists of three fragments not connected, in thought or grammar, either with one another or with their present surroundings.

Now in 1 § 3 and 1 § 9 there are places in which, as I think, the first and second of these three fragments may be appropriately introduced. In 1 § 3 the author states and accepts provisionally the popular notion of justice and injustice: he then proceeds in § 4, *οὐδὲ γὰρ τὸν αὐτὸν ἔχει τρόπον ἐπί τε τῶν ἐπιστημῶν καὶ δυνάμεων καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ἕξεων.* Does this sentence naturally succeed § 3? For my part, I think not. To say nothing of the harshness of the ellipse which Sir A. Grant assumes,—"(and I have specified them thus) for it is not the same," &c.—the introduction of a doctrine of the schools in § 4, for no better purpose than to justify the form in which the popular notion of § 3 has been expressed, is surely very strange. Here then, after the words *ὑποκείσθω ταῦτα*, I propose to insert 9 §§ 14—16. The text and the argument will now run as follows:

3. *ὁρῶμεν δὴ πάντας τὴν τοιαύτην ἕξιν βουλομένους λέγειν δικαιοσύνην, ἀφ' ἧς πρακτικοὶ τῶν δικαίων εἰσὶ καὶ ἀφ' ἧς δικαιοπραγοῦσι καὶ βούλονται*[2] *τὰ δίκαια· τὸν αὐτὸν δὲ*

'We see that all understand by justice a *ἕξις ἀφ' ἧς πρακτικοὶ τῶν δικαίων εἰσὶ καὶ ἀφ' ἧς δικαιοπραγοῦσι καὶ βούλονται τὰ δίκαια*, and by injustice a *ἕξις ἀφ' ἧς ἀδικοῦσι*

[1] That it is *ἡ κατὰ μέρος δικαιοσύνη* which is here spoken of, is clear from a comparison of the first words of this section with 1 § 9.

[2] I have heard the use of the word *βούλονται* instead of *προαιροῦνται* alleged

τρόπον καὶ περὶ ἀδικίας, ἀφ' ἧς ἀδικοῦσι καὶ βούλονται τὰ ἄδικα. διὸ καὶ ἡμῖν πρῶτον ὡς ἐν τύπῳ ὑποκείσθω ταῦτα.

οἱ δ' ἄνθρωποι ἐφ' ἑαυτοῖς οἴονται εἶναι τὸ ἀδικεῖν, διὸ καὶ τὸ δίκαιον εἶναι ῥᾴδιον. τὸ δ' οὐκ ἔστιν· συγγενέσθαι μὲν γὰρ τῇ τοῦ γείτονος καὶ πατάξαι τὸν πλησίον καὶ δοῦναι τῇ χειρὶ τὸ ἀργύριον ῥᾴδιον καὶ ἐπ' αὐτοῖς, ἀλλὰ τὸ ὧδὶ ἔχοντας ταῦτα ποιεῖν οὔτε ῥᾴδιον οὔτ' ἐπ' αὐτοῖς.

ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ τὸ γνῶναι τὰ δίκαια καὶ τὰ ἄδικα οὐδὲν οἴονται σοφὸν εἶναι, ὅτι περὶ ὧν οἱ νόμοι λέγουσιν οὐ χαλεπὸν ξυνιέναι. ἀλλ' οὐ ταῦτ' ἐστὶ τὰ δίκαια ἀλλ' ἡ κατὰ συμβεβηκός, ἀλλὰ πῶς πραττόμενα καὶ πῶς νεμόμενα δίκαια· τοῦτο δὲ πλέον ἔργον ἢ τὰ ὑγιεινὰ εἰδέναι, ἐπεὶ κἀκεῖ μέλι καὶ οἶνον καὶ ἐλλέβορον καὶ καῦσιν καὶ τομὴν εἰδέναι ῥᾴδιον, ἀλλὰ πῶς δεῖ νεῖμαι πρὸς ὑγίειαν καὶ τίνι καὶ πότε, τοσοῦτον ἔργον καὶ βούλονται τὰ ἄδικα. This we may accept provisionally as a basis for our own argument.

Secondly, men conceive that it rests with themselves ἀδικεῖν, *and therefore that it is easy* δίκαιον εἶναι. *This is a mistake: for though it is easy and rests with ourselves to do a particular act, it is not easy nor does it rest with ourselves to do it in a given* ἕξις.

Thirdly, men assume that it is a simple matter to know τὰ δίκαια *and* τὰ ἄδικα, *because it is not difficult to apprehend what the laws ordain. But it is only* κατὰ συμβεβηκός *that what the laws ordain is* δίκαιον; *since, to be* δίκαια, *things must be* πῶς πραττόμενα καὶ πῶς νεμόμενα, *and the knowledge required is therefore more difficult of attainment than that of* τὰ ὑγιεινά, *whilst even in the case of* τὰ ὑγιεινά *there is a great difference between knowing remedies, and knowing*

as an indication of the Eudemian authorship of the book: but it is obvious that βούλονται is strictly appropriate, because the author is here recording a popular and superficial view, not his own doctrine. Cf. 5 § 17, where in recapitulating his results the author is careful to introduce the words κατὰ προαίρεσιν.

ὅσον ἰατρὸν εἶναι.

δι' αὐτὸ δὲ τοῦτο καὶ τοῦ δικαίου οἴονται εἶναι οὐθὲν ἧττον τὸ ἀδικεῖν, ὅτι οὐθὲν ἧττον ὁ δίκαιος ἀλλὰ καὶ μᾶλλον δύναιτ' ἂν ἕκαστον πρᾶξαι τούτων· καὶ γὰρ συγγενέσθαι γυναικὶ καὶ πατάξαι, καὶ ὁ ἀνδρεῖος τὴν ἀσπίδα ἀφεῖναι καὶ στραφεὶς ἐφ' ὁποτεραοῦν τρέχειν. ἀλλὰ τὸ δειλαίνειν καὶ τὸ ἀδικεῖν οὐ τὸ ταῦτα ποιεῖν ἐστί, πλὴν κατὰ συμβεβηκός, ἀλλὰ τὸ ὡδὶ ἔχοντα ταῦτα ποιεῖν, ὥσπερ καὶ τὸ ἰατρεύειν καὶ τὸ ὑγιάζειν οὐ τὸ τέμνειν ἢ μὴ τέμνειν ἢ φαρμακεύειν ἢ μὴ φαρμακεύειν ἐστίν, ἀλλὰ τὸ ὡδί. 4. οὐδὲ γὰρ τὸν αὐτὸν ἔχει τρόπον ἐπί τε τῶν ἐπιστημῶν καὶ δυνάμεων καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ἕξεων. δύναμις μὲν γὰρ καὶ ἐπιστήμη δοκεῖ τῶν ἐναντίων ἡ αὐτὴ εἶναι, ἕξις δ' ἡ[2] ἐναν-

how and when and to whom they should be applied, in fact being a physician.

Fourthly, not appreciating the above distinction, men suppose that ὁ δίκαιος can ἀδικεῖν as easily as ὁ ἄδικος, if not more easily: thus he can commit an adultery or an assault, and the brave man similarly can act like a coward. But τὸ δειλαίνειν and τὸ ἀδικεῖν do not consist (except κατὰ συμβεβηκός) in committing the acts in question, but in committing them in certain ἕξεις [which ἕξεις cannot belong to the δίκαιος and the ἀνδρεῖος respectively]; just as ἰατρεύειν and ὑγιάζειν consist, not in applying remedies, but in applying them ὡδί [i.e. ἰατρικῶς[1]*].* Now ἕξεις differ from ἐπιστῆμαι and δυνάμεις, inasmuch as a δύναμις or ἐπιστήμη includes the knowledge of the opposite of its matter, whilst a ἕξις confers no power of doing what is contrary to its appro-

[1] Or, as the paraphrast puts it, ἕξιν ἰατρικὴν ἔχοντα. Cf. II. 4 § 1 sqq. ἀπορήσειε δ' ἄν τις, πῶς λέγομεν ὅτι δεῖ τὰ μὲν δίκαια πράττοντας δικαίους γίνεσθαι, τὰ δὲ σώφρονα σώφρονας· εἰ γὰρ πράττουσι τὰ δίκαια καὶ τὰ σώφρονα, ἤδη εἰσὶ δίκαιοι καὶ σώφρονες, ὥσπερ εἰ τὰ γραμματικὰ καὶ τὰ μουσικά, γραμματικοὶ καὶ μουσικοί. ἢ οὐδ' ἐπὶ τῶν τεχνῶν οὕτως ἔχει; ἐνδέχεται γὰρ γραμματικόν τι ποιῆσαι καὶ ἀπὸ τύχης καὶ ἄλλου ὑποθεμένου. τότε οὖν ἔσται γραμματικός, ἐὰν καὶ γραμματικόν τι ποιήσῃ καὶ γραμματικῶς· τοῦτο δ' ἐστὶ τὸ κατὰ τὴν ἐν αὐτῷ γραμματικήν.

[2] Cf. Rhet. II. 19: ἡ γὰρ αὐτὴ δύναμις τῶν ἐναντίων ἢ ἐναντία, whence Spengel proposes to read ἢ for ἡ in the present passage. I do not think the alteration an improvement.

τία τῶν ἐναντίων οὔ· οἷον ἀπὸ τῆς ὑγιείας οὐ πράττεται τὰ ἐναντία, ἀλλὰ τὰ ὑγιεινὰ μόνον· λέγομεν γὰρ ὑγιεινῶς βαδίζειν, ὅταν βαδίζῃ ὡς ἂν ὁ ὑγιαίνων.

priate acts: for example, a man with a healthy ἕξις cannot exhibit the symptoms of ill health[1].'

It should be remarked here (1) that a somewhat lengthy enumeration of popular views with accompanying criticisms is precisely what the author's declaration in § 2, that he will proceed κατὰ τὴν αὐτὴν μέθοδον τοῖς προειρημένοις, has led us to expect at the outset of the enquiry, whereas the addition of such an enumeration after the author's own view has been stated is not only useless, but also contrary to his ordinary practice; and (2) that the doctrine of 1 § 4 is necessary to complete the argument of 9 § 16, as was seen by Michael Ephesius, who, though he does not suspect any displacement, is nevertheless careful in commenting on the latter passage to quote the former.

Having thus disposed of 9 §§ 13—16, I proceed to consider the remaining section of this chapter (§ 17).

This section determines the kind of society in which ἡ κατὰ μέρος δικαιοσύνη can subsist, and has therefore no connection either with the sections which precede it or with the theory of ἐπιείκεια contained in ch. 10. On the contrary it is obviously connected in thought with 1 § 9. Accordingly I propose to insert it after the words τὰ αὑτοῖς ἀγαθά, though I cannot allege any better reason than a general sense of superior fitness for placing it here, after the parenthetical remark about prayer, rather than after τινὶ δ' οὐκ ἀεί. The text and the argument will now run thus:

9. ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ πλεονέκτης ὁ ἄδικος, περὶ τἀγαθὰ ἔσται, οὐ πάντα, ἀλλὰ περὶ ὅσα εὐτυχία καὶ ἀτυχία, ἃ ἐστὶ μὲν ἁπλῶς ἀεὶ ἀγαθά, τινὶ δ' οὐκ ἀεί·—οἱ

'And since the ἄδικος may also be πλεονέκτης [i.e. may exhibit ἀδικία in the particular form of it called πλεονεξία], he will be concerned with those

[1] This critical review of existing opinions in regard to δικαιον and ἄδικον is continued to the end of § 11, as the phraseology shows.

δ' ἄνθρωποι ταῦτα καὶ εὔχονται καὶ διώκουσιν· δεῖ δ' οὔ, ἀλλ' εὔχεσθαι μὲν τὰ ἁπλῶς ἀγαθὰ καὶ αὑτοῖς ἀγαθὰ εἶναι, αἱρεῖσθαι δὲ τὰ αὑτοῖς ἀγαθά·— ἔστι δὲ τὰ δίκαια ἐν τούτοις οἷς μέτεστι τῶν ἁπλῶς ἀγαθῶν, ἔχουσι δ' ὑπερβολὴν ἐν τούτοις[1] καὶ ἔλλειψιν· τοῖς μὲν γὰρ οὐκ ἔστιν ὑπερβολὴ αὐτῶν, οἷον ἴσως τοῖς θεοῖς, τοῖς δ' οὐθὲν μόριον ὠφέλιμον, τοῖς ἀνιάτως κακοῖς, ἀλλὰ πάντα βλάπτει, τοῖς δὲ μέχρι τοῦ· διὰ[2] τοῦτ' ἀνθρώπινόν ἐστιν.

goods on which good and ill fortune depend, which goods, though always good ἁπλῶς, are not always good τινί;—(not seeing this, men pray for and pursue these goods, whereas they should rather pray that τὰ ἁπλῶς ἀγαθά may be good for them, and choose those things which are good for them;)—*and relations of justice of this sort subsist among those who can enjoy τὰ ἁπλῶς ἀγαθά, but may have too much or too little of them; i.e. not on the one hand among gods who cannot have too great a share of ἁπλῶς ἀγαθά, nor on the other among the incurably bad who cannot have too small a share of them: hence this justice is peculiar to human society.*

10. ὁ δ' ἄδικος οὐκ ἀεὶ τὸ πλέον αἱρεῖται, κ.τ.λ.

But the unjust man does not always choose τὸ πλέον', &c.

On the position of ch. 10 I shall have something to say hereafter, when I come to speak of another fragment, which must in my judgment be associated with it. For the present I assume that it is set aside, so that 9 § 13 may be followed immediately by 11 § 1 to the evident advantage of both these chapters: for I cannot admit that ch. 11 is superfluous.

[1] I think that the words ἐν τούτοις should be omitted. They do not appear in K^b and L^b, the MSS to which in this book Rassow attributes the greatest importance (Forschungen über die Nikomachische Ethik, p. 7). For the omission of the relative οἷς, see Madvig's Greek Syntax, § 104. If the words in question are retained, the clause must be construed as though it were ἐν οἷς δ' ἔχουσι (sc. τὰ ἁπλῶς ἀγαθά) ὑπερβολὴν καὶ ἔλλειψιν; or ἐν τούτοις must be taken in a new sense.

[2] Should we read διό instead of διά? At present ἐστίν has no evident subject.

I turn now to 6 §§ 1—3. These sections, as is acknowledged by nearly all the scholars who have attempted to unravel the perplexities of this book, seriously interrupt the argument. As the text stands, 5 § 19 declares that the investigation of *δικαιοσύνη, ἀδικία, δίκαιον* and *ἄδικον* regarded *καθόλου* is now complete; while 6 § 4 begins an investigation of the kinds of *δίκαιον* called respectively *πολιτικόν, δεσποτικόν, πατρικόν, οἰκονομικόν*; and the introductory sentence—*δεῖ δὲ μὴ λανθάνειν ὅτι τὸ ζητούμενόν ἐστι καὶ τὸ ἁπλῶς δίκαιον καὶ τὸ πολιτικὸν δίκαιον*—carefully marks the connection of this inquiry with the inquiry concluded in ch. 5. Any intervening sentences must be either explanatory of the previous discussion, or explanatory by anticipation of 6 § 4 sqq., or, if purely parenthetical, complete in themselves. Now it is impossible to connect §§ 1—3 either with 5 § 19 or with 6 § 4: and when we consider them by themselves, apart from the context, we find that the author (1) in 6 §§ 1, 2, starting from the new assumption that *ὁ ἀδικῶν* is not necessarily *ἄδικος*, asks a question, demurs to the form of it, and alleges examples in justification of his objection, but does not restate the question or proceed to enunciate his doctrine, although in the words *ἀλλ' οὐ διὰ προαιρέσεως ἀρχήν* he has implicitly established a basis for it; and (2) in 6 § 3 introduces a reference to a former discussion, which reference is irrelevant not only to 6 §§ 1, 2, but also to 5 § 19 and 6 § 4[1]. I conceive then that the passage does not occupy its proper position, and that it consists of two distinct fragments, one of which, §§ 1, 2, belongs in thought, as Trendelenburg (Historische Beiträge zur Philosophie, III. 421) has pointed out, to ch. 8, whilst the other, § 3, contains at first sight no hint of its origin. I proceed to deal with these fragments separately and in detail; and first with §§ 1, 2.

I have already said that the distinction between *ὁ ἀδικῶν* and *ὁ ἄδικος*, which is introduced as though it were familiar to the reader, is here imported into the discussion for the first time. I may now add that, whereas the words *οὐ διὰ προαιρέ-*

[1] In the Latin version of Averroes' commentary no notice is taken of §§ 1—3, as is expressly noted in the margin of the Venetian edition of 1550. Michael Ephesius paraphrases §§ 1, 2, but not § 3.

σεως ἀρχὴν ἀλλὰ διὰ πάθος read as though the distinction between *τὰ ἐκ προαιρέσεως* and *τὰ διὰ πάθος* had been already enforced, that distinction has not been brought before us in connection with the present subject. It has also been stated that the author after asking the question *ὁ ποῖα ἀδικήματα ἀδικῶν ἤδη ἄδικός ἐστιν ἑκάστην ἀδικίαν*; objects to the form of the question, prepares to answer it in its spirit if not in its letter, but strangely stops short and drops the matter. Now in ch. 8 we find (1) that *προαιρετά* and *ἀπροαίρετα* (i.e. *ὅσα διὰ θυμὸν καὶ ἄλλα πάθη*) are carefully distinguished in 8 § 5; (2) that the distinction between *ὁ ἀδικῶν* and *ὁ ἄδικος* is introduced, apparently as a novelty, in 8 § 8; and (3) that the very question asked in 6 § 1, not having been restated in the interval, is declared answered in 8 § 11, upon the principle hinted at but not distinctly enunciated in the former passage. Hence I infer that the fragment 6 §§ 1, 2 is to be inserted in ch. 8 somewhere between *οὐ μέντοι πω ἄδικοι διὰ ταῦτα οὐδὲ πονηροί* (§ 8) and *ἂν δ' ἐκ προαιρέσεως βλάψῃ, ἀδικεῖ, κ.τ.λ.* (§ 11): and on examination of the region thus defined I decide to place it in § 8 after *βλάβη*. The text, with some changes in the punctuation and an addition of which I will speak in the proper place, will now run as follows:

8. *ὅταν δὲ εἰδὼς μὲν μὴ προβουλεύσας δέ, ἀδίκημα, οἷον ὅσα τε διὰ θυμὸν καὶ ἄλλα πάθη ὅσα ἀναγκαῖα ἢ φυσικὰ συμβαίνει*[1] *τοῖς ἀνθρώποις· ταῦτα γὰρ βλάπτοντες καὶ ἁμαρτάνοντες ἀδικοῦσι μέν, καὶ ἀδικήματά ἐστιν, οὐ μέντοι πω ἄδικοι διὰ ταῦτα οὐδὲ πονηροί· οὐ γὰρ διὰ μοχθηρίαν ἡ βλάβη. ἐπεὶ δ' ἔστιν ἀδικοῦντα μήπω ἄδικον εἶναι, ὁ ποῖα*

'Thirdly, it is an *ἀδίκημα* when a man *βλάπτῃ* another knowingly but not deliberately; for instance, harms done under the influence of anger or any other unavoidable or natural passion: when men do harm or wrong in this manner they *ἀδικοῦσιν*, and the acts are *ἀδικήματα*, but the perpetrators are not necessarily *ἄδικοι* or *πονηροί*, the

[1] I have expunged the commas after *πάθη* and *φυσικά*, thinking that the *second* *ὅσα* is the subject of *συμβαίνει*. If the *first* *ὅσα* were the subject of *συμβαίνει*, *τοῖς ἀνθρώποις* would be unmeaning and superfluous.

ἀδικήματα ἀδικῶν ἤδη ἄδικός ἐστιν ἑκάστην ἀδικίαν, οἷον κλέπτης ἢ μοιχὸς ἢ λῃστης; ἢ οὕτω μὲν οὐδὲν διοίσει, ἐν[1] οἷς δ' ἀδικία καὶ τὸ ἀδικεῖν ἐν τούτοις ἐν οἷς δὲ τὸ ἀδικεῖν οὐ πᾶσιν ἀδικία; καὶ γὰρ ἂν συγγένοιτο γυναικὶ εἰδὼς τὸ ᾗ, ἀλλ' οὐ διὰ προαιρέσεως ἀρχὴν ἀλλὰ διὰ πάθος. ἀδικεῖ μὲν οὖν ἄδικος δ' οὔκ ἐστιν, οἷον οὐ[2] κλέπτης ἔκλεψε δέ, οὐδὲ μοιχὸς ἐμοίχευσε δέ, ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ἄλλων· 9. ὅταν δ' ἐκ προ-

harmful act not being the result of μοχθηρία. *But seeing that a man may be ἀδικῶν and yet not necessarily ἄδικος, what are the ἀδικήματα, the commission of which makes a man necessarily ἄδικος of some particular ἀδικία—for example, a thief, an adulterer or a brigand? It may be doubted, however, whether the distinction is in the acts,* AND NOT RATHER IN THE AGENT HIMSELF, WHO, IF HE HAS ἀδικία, ἀδικεῖ, BUT IF HE ἀδικεῖ, HAS NOT NECESSARILY ἀδικία. *Thus a man may have intercourse with a woman knowing her to be his neighbour's wife, yet not διὰ προαιρέσεως ἀρχήν, but διὰ πάθος. Hence a man may ἀδικεῖν without being ἄδικος, thieving, for example, yet not being a thief, committing adultery yet not being an adulterer:*

[1] I have introduced these words from 6 § 4. Münscher points out that they are wholly irrelevant to that passage, and proposes to place them after ἐπὶ τῶν ἄλλων at the end of 6 § 2. They would make good sense in that place, but it seems to me that they are urgently required after διοίσει. In fact when I was paraphrasing these sections, before I had made up my mind to insert these words in the text, I found that I could not make the meaning clear without inserting an equivalent for them, as indeed Michael Ephesius has done. It will be observed that the structure of the sentence is improved, as μέν finds its proper correlative in the δέ of the clause introduced.

[2] I have written οὐ κλέπτης on the authority of K^b and P^b (Vaticanus). Οὐδὲ κλέπτης is hardly intelligible, even if with Münscher we expunge οὐδὲ μοιχὸς ἐμοίχευσε δέ so that οὐδέ may introduce an example supplementary to the one already adduced. As Bekker's text stands, οὐδέ cannot bear its proper meaning.

αιρέσεως, ἄδικος καὶ μοχθηρός.

διὸ καλῶς τὰ ἐκ θυμοῦ οὐκ ἐκ προνοίας κρίνεται. οὐ γὰρ ἄρχει ὁ θυμῷ ποιῶν ἀλλ' ὁ ὀργίσας. 10. ἔτι δὲ οὐδὲ περὶ τοῦ γενέσθαι ἡ μὴ ἀμφισβητεῖται ἀλλὰ περὶ τοῦ δικαίου· ἐπὶ φαινομένῃ γὰρ ἀδικίᾳ ἡ ὀργή ἐστιν· οὐ γὰρ ὥσπερ ἐν τοῖς συναλλάγμασι περὶ τοῦ γενέσθαι ἀμφισβητοῦσιν, ὧν[1] ἀνάγκη τὸν ἕτερον εἶναι μοχθηρόν, ἂν μὴ διὰ λήθην αὐτὸ δρῶσιν[2], ἀλλ' ὁμολογοῦντες περὶ τοῦ πράγματος, περὶ τοῦ ποτέρως δίκαιον ἀμφισβητοῦσιν. ὁ δ' ἐπιβουλεύσας[3] οὐκ ἀγνοεῖ· ὥστε ὁ μὲν οἴεται ἀδικεῖσθαι, ὁ δ' οὔ.

but when a man ἀδικῇ ἐκ προαιρέσεως, he is ἄδικος and μοχθηρός.

Hence τὰ ἐκ θυμοῦ are rightly held not to proceed ἐκ προνοίας. For (1) it is not ὁ θυμῷ ποιῶν who ἄρχει, but the man who gives the provocation. Moreover, the question is one not of fact but of δίκαιον, anger arising at the appearance of ἀδικία. Here the parties do not dispute the fact,—as they do in συναλλάγματα, where one or other must be μοχθηρός,—unless they do it through forgetfulness; but, agreeing about the fact, they dispute on which side right lies (ποτέρως δίκαιον). And (2) ὁ ἐπιβουλεύσας, the vengeful man, is obviously not ignorant of the fact; but thinks he has been wronged, whereas the other denies it.

11. ἂν δ' ἐκ προαιρέσεως βλάψῃ, ἀδικεῖ[4] καὶ κατὰ ταῦτ'

But if a man harms another ἐκ προαιρέσεως, he ἀδικεῖ and

[1] ὧν has no antecedent. Should we read οὐ γὰρ ὥσπερ οἱ ἐν τοῖς συναλλάγμασι?

[2] ἂν μὴ διὰ λήθην αὐτὸ δρῶσιν. These words are commonly understood to refer to the two parties concerned in a συνάλλαγμα. If this interpretation is correct, the transition from the singular τὸν ἕτερον to the plural δρῶσιν is strangely abrupt. I take the clause to refer to ὁ ὀργίσας and ὁ ὀργισθείς, who do not dispute the fact unless they do it through forgetfulness, i.e. the forgetfulness which results from anger.

[3] Mr Bywater (Journal of Philology, v. 115) anticipates me in the remark that ὁ ἐπιβουλεύσας is to be explained from the ninth book of the Laws; where, as here, a distinction is made between ὁ θυμῷ ποιῶν and ὁ ἐπιβουλεύσας, the cases of both being included in τὰ ἐκ θυμοῦ.

[4] All the editions with which I am acquainted place a full stop or at least a colon after ἀδικεῖ, thus completely destroying the sense. It is

ἤδη τὰ ἀδικήματα ὁ ἀδικῶν ἄδικος, ὅταν παρὰ τὸ ἀνάλογον ἢ ἢ παρὰ τὸ ἴσον. ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ δίκαιος ὅταν προελόμενος δικαιοπραγῇ[1], δικαιοπραγεῖ δὲ ἂν μόνον ἑκὼν πράττῃ.

is ἄδικος, provided that the act violates proportion or equality. In like manner a man is δίκαιος when he προελόμενος δικαιοπραγῇ, whilst he δικαιοπραγεῖ if he is ἑκών but not προελόμενος.'

The train of thought of §§ 6—11 is then as follows:—'The βλάβαι which may occur in the several κοινωνίαι of society are three—ἀτύχημα (ὅταν παραλόγως ἡ βλάβη γένηται), ἁμάρτημα (ὅταν μὴ παραλόγως ἄνευ δὲ κακίας), ἀδίκημα (ὅταν εἰδὼς μὲν μὴ προβουλεύσας δέ). He who acts knowingly, but not of deliberate purpose, ἀδικεῖ but is not necessarily ἄδικος. *What are the acts then the commission of which makes the agent* ἄδικος *as well as* ἀδικῶν? *Not certain specified acts,* but acts done ἐκ προαιρέσεως (whence τὰ ἐκ θυμοῦ are rightly accounted ἀδικήματα which do not constitute ἀδικία in the agent, for ὁ ὀργισθείς and ὁ ἐπιβουλεύσας are εἰδότες but not προελόμενοι).' Thus in this chapter ἄδικον, ἀδίκημα, and ἀδίκημα implying ἀδικία, are successively considered and defined. When the agent is not ἑκών, he ἄδικα πράττει. When the agent is ἑκών but not προελόμενος, he ἀδικεῖ and the act is an ἀδίκημα. When the agent is προελόμενος, he ἀδικεῖ καὶ ἄδικός ἐστιν.

It will be observed, (1) that the fragment inserted accounts

clear from the parallel statement in regard to ὁ δίκαιος and ὁ δικαιοπραγῶν which succeeds, and indeed from the whole argument of the passage, that if a man παρὰ τὸ ἀνάλογον ἢ παρὰ τὸ ἴσον βλάπτει another ἑκών, he ἀδικεῖ; but if a man παρὰ τὸ ἀνάλογον ἢ παρὰ τὸ ἴσον βλάπτει another προελόμενος, he ἀδικεῖ καὶ ἄδικός ἐστιν. Hence the words ἀδικεῖ καὶ κατὰ ταῦτ' ἤδη τὰ ἀδικήματα ὁ ἀδικῶν ἄδικος must be closely connected together, κατὰ ταῦτ' ἤδη τὰ ἀδικήματα representing ἂν ἐκ προαιρέσεως βλάψῃ, not ὅταν παρὰ τὸ ἀνάλογον ἢ ἢ παρὰ τὸ ἴσον. These last words do not refer exclusively to 'ὁ ἀδικῶν who is also ἄδικος,' and therefore cannot constitute the distinction required; but are part of the definition of τὸ ἐν μέρει ἄδικον. Cf. 4 §§ 2, 3, where it is stated that τὸ ἄδικον τὸ ἀντικείμενον τῷ διανεμητικῷ δικαίῳ is παρὰ τὸ ἀνάλογον, and that τὸ ἐν τοῖς συναλλάγμασιν ἄδικον is ἄνισον κατὰ τὴν ἀριθμητικὴν ἀναλογίαν, i.e. παρὰ τὸ ἴσον.

[1] I have here substituted a comma for a full stop.

for the transition from the plurals *ἄδικοι, πονηροί* in 8 § 8 to the singulars *ἄδικος, μοχθηρός* in 8 § 9; and (2) that the phrase *διὰ προαιρέσεως ἀρχήν* in 6 § 1 leads up to the emphatic *ἄρχει* in the last sentence of the second of these sections. These coincidences may seem in some measure to confirm my conjecture.

So much for the first of the two fragments of which I suppose 6 §§ 1—3 to consist. It is more difficult to dispose of the second. We may however assume from the form of it—*πῶς μὲν οὖν ἔχει τὸ ἀντιπεπονθὸς πρὸς τὸ δίκαιον εἴρηται πρότερον*—that it is the beginning of a distinct paragraph, whilst it is evident that this allusion to the investigation of *τὸ ἀντιπεπονθός* would be specially appropriate at the beginning of a subsequent chapter upon an offshoot of justice. Indeed it is difficult to imagine any other circumstances under which the reminder would be required. I propose therefore to insert the fragment at the beginning of the chapter upon equity[1]. No inconsistency or awkwardness is created by the transfer. The opening sentence of ch. 10 will now run thus:

πῶς μὲν οὖν ἔχει τὸ ἀντιπεπονθὸς πρὸς τὸ δίκαιον εἴρηται πρότερον· περὶ δὲ ἐπιεικείας καὶ τοῦ ἐπιεικοῦς, πῶς ἔχει ἡ μὲν ἐπιείκεια πρὸς δικαιοσύνην τὸ δ' ἐπιεικὲς πρὸς τὸ δίκαιον, ἐχόμενόν ἐστιν εἰπεῖν· οὔτε γὰρ ὡς ταὐτὸν ἁπλῶς οὔθ' ὡς ἕτερον τῷ γένει φαίνεται σκοπουμένοις, κ.τ.λ. The question here arises—Where are we to place the investigation of *ἐπιείκεια* together with the heading which I have prefixed to it? In my opinion it should stand immediately before 11 § 10 at the end of the book. This arrangement justifies the *distance* of the reference to what has been said previously (*πρότερον*) about *τὸ ἀντιπεπονθός*, and is in other respects a perfectly natural one. It agrees at least as well as the received arrangement with that of the corresponding passage of the Magna Moralia.

I think that when these changes have been effected the several matters discussed in the book follow one another in a natural and orderly sequence. In ch. 1, (1) certain popular

[1] According to Sir A. Grant, Spengel so far anticipates me as to place ch. 10 after 6 § 3. In his Aristotelische Studien however Spengel adopts Hildenbrand's proposal to place 6 § 3—7 § 7 (with the omission of the word *πρότερον*) between 5 § 16 and 5 § 17.

notions about justice and injustice are stated, criticized, and accepted, modified or rejected: (2) the relations of the just and the unjust, the just and justice are considered: (3) the just is shown to include the lawful and the equal: (4) the just in the sense of the lawful is subdivided into *τὸ κατὰ τὴν ὅλην ἀρετήν* and *τὸ ποιητικὸν καὶ φυλακτικὸν τῆς εὐδαιμονίας τῇ πολιτικῇ κοινωνίᾳ.* In ch. 2 (1) our attention is directed to *ἡ ἐν μέρει δικαιοσύνη,* the discussion of which is necessary to the completeness of our theory of the virtues: (2) *ἡ κατὰ μέρος δικαιοσύνη* is subdivided into *τὸ διανεμητικόν* and *τὸ διορθωτικόν.* In ch. 3, distributive justice is shown to consist in that kind of equality which is attained by geometrical proportion. In ch. 4, corrective justice is shown to consist in that kind of equality which is attained by arithmetical proportion. In ch. 5, (1) commercial justice is shown to consist in that kind of equality which is attained by reciprocal proportion[1]: (2) the general investigation of *δικαιοσύνη, ἀδικία, δίκαιον,* and *ἄδικον* is declared complete. In ch. 6, we leave *τὸ ἁπλῶς δίκαιον* and proceed to consider *τὸ πολιτικὸν δίκαιον* together with *τὰ καθ' ὁμοιότητα δίκαια,* viz. *δεσποτικόν, πατρικόν, οἰκονομικόν.* In ch. 7, two elements of *τὸ πολιτικὸν δίκαιον,* viz. *τὸ φυσικόν* and *τὸ νομικόν,* are distinguished. In ch. 8, we pass on to the investigation of justice and injustice in the individual, who (1) *οὐκ ἀδικεῖ* unless he is *ἑκών,* (2) *οὐκ ἄδικός ἐστιν* unless he acts *ἐκ προαιρέσεως.* In ch. 9 §§ 1—13 and ch. 11 supplementary *ἀπορίαι* in regard to *ἀδικεῖν* and *ἀδικεῖσθαι* are discussed. Finally in ch. 10, *ἐπιείκεια* and its relations to justice are considered.

To the question which at this point suggests itself—How did these dislocations arise?—I can give only a general answer. I conceive that in some ancient roll, from which all the extant MSS are derived, several columns were misplaced, one or two of these misplaced columns being also torn. How far the confusion so caused may have been increased by attempts to restore the true order, it is impossible to say. But in any case the amount of injury necessary to account for the supposed dislocations is less considerable than might at first sight appear.

[1] See Journal of Philology, IV. 312 sqq.

It now only remains for me to tabulate my arrangement of the book as follows:

1 §§ 1—3. *περὶ δὲ—ταῦτα.*
9 §§ 14—16. *οἱ δ'—ὠδί.*
1 §§ 4—9. *οὐδὲ γὰρ—ἀγαθά.*
9 § 17. *ἔστι δὲ—ἐστιν.*
1 § 10—5 § 19. *ὁ δ'—καθόλου.*
6 § 4. *δεῖ δὲ—ἀδίκου.*
6 § 4—8 § 8. *τοῦτο δ'—βλάβη.*
6 § 1. *ἐπεὶ—διοίσει;*
6 § 4. *ἐν οἷς δ'—ἀδικία.*
6 §§ 1, 2. *καὶ γὰρ—ἄλλων.*
8 § 9—9 § 13. *ὅταν δ'—ἔλαβεν.*
11 §§ 1—9. *πότερον—τούτοις.*
6 § 3. *πῶς μὲν—πρότερον.*
10 §§ 1—8. *περὶ δὲ—ἕξις.*
11 § 10. *περὶ μὲν—τοῦτον.*

HENRY JACKSON.

ON PSEUDO-ARCHAIC WORDS AND INFLEXIONS IN THE HOMERIC VOCABULARY, AND THEIR RELATION TO THE ANTIQUITY OF THE HOMERIC POEMS.

(*Continued from Vol. V. no.* 9, *p.* 114.)

I HAVE endeavoured to show at some length, in the Prefaces to Homer's Iliad and elsewhere, that the alleged antiquity of the Iliad and the Odyssey, at least in the form in which we possess them, is liable to grave doubts, for reasons which still appear to me to be based on plain and incontrovertible facts[1]. Independently of these reasons (the principal of which I shall now only briefly recapitulate), but strictly in confirmation of them, I propose in the present paper to offer some arguments derived from the *language* of Homer. If I am successful in throwing a doubt on the genuineness of many of the forms found in these poems, and in showing that in the use of others a confusion and uncertainty is observable, such as might be expected in the working up of old materials in new combinations, I furnish, of course, an additional evidence of the compilation of them in a much

[1] Dr Hayman's Preface to Vol. II. of his Odyssey—though he says all that, perhaps, can be said on the side of the great antiquity of our texts, in which he agrees in the main with Mr Grote, Col. Mure, K. O. Müller, and still more cordially, perhaps, with Mr Gladstone's conclusions and convictions—has failed to remove my difficulties in receiving the ordinary account. Without being conscious of any special bias or any unfairness in dealing with this difficult question, I offer the following remarks simply as a literary contribution on the open field of friendly controversy. My views, in the main, of the composite nature of these poems are those of F. A. Wolf, except that I go further than he in detecting more general proofs of *νεωτερισμός*. As the whole subject is necessarily far removed from the possibility of demonstration, I can only, of course, offer presumptive evidence, which will probably appear to different readers in very different lights.

later age than has commonly been supposed; an age in which, though much of the old spirit and genius of the epic bards remained, *imitation* had set in, and a large importation of words from the later dialects had impaired and corrupted the genuine old ballad literature that for a very long period had been indefinitely assigned to a poet called Homer.

I am well aware that there are some who will not hesitate to refer any anomalies or inconsistencies in the Homeric language to the "interpolations of late rhapsodists." They think this is an easy way to get rid of all verbal difficulties, while it allows the general bulk and even form of these long poems to be as ancient as they would fondly imagine, viz. B.C. 850. And I may say for myself, that I held to this theory, till further reasoning and a more careful research convinced me that it signally failed to account for a large part of the evident modernisms that seemed to me to pervade the whole structure of our Homeric texts. There are others, and those not few, who are averse to any investigations, and refuse to hear evidence that requires them to reconsider and perhaps to resign their long-cherished convictions. Some, again, seem little able to appreciate a series of *cumulative* arguments, though they will admit the force of this or that particular objection. Still there remain some, as I apprehend, who will feel and acknowledge that it is a matter of no small literary interest to entertain the whole question honestly, and to reject reasonings upon it only if they appear to be unsound. From them I ask a fair hearing for an inquiry which cannot be deemed unimportant, since it affects intimately the whole subject of Grecian literature.

I will begin by stating in a very few words the precise position which I shall endeavour to maintain. It is simply this: that when, in a literary and *writing* age (from B.C. 450 to 400), the grander poems of the Iliad and the Odyssey had been elaborated out of the old materials and under (perhaps) really old titles[1], *the genuine old poems out of which they grew,—the poems which Pindar and the Tragic poets alone knew of, and which they so extensively used, came to be regarded as secondary, drop-*

[1] It will be observed that *Iliad* is an inappropriate title to a poem which turns mainly on the anger and subsequent prowess of Achilles.

ped comparatively out of notice, and so in later ages were referred to not as originals, but as supplements and imitations.

The general considerations, which tend to throw doubts on so remote an antiquity as B.C. 850, commonly assigned, on the sole authority of a statement of Herodotus (II. 53), to the Homeric poems as we have them, may be summed up as follows.

1. In the age of Pindar and the Tragics the subjects and persons connected with the tale of Troy were very much more varied and numerous. The legends which they had and the materials which they used were *certainly* not taken directly from our poems, the allusions to which are at once scanty and dubious[1]. They were, as a rule, derived from epics which they must have regarded as their sole authority, or, in other words, which they followed as *the* Homer of their day. And these epics we can identify, not with our Homer, but with other poems that are known to have constituted the earlier and later portions of the so-called Epic Cyclus[2].

2. Precisely the same remark applies to the vase-paintings of the same period, many thousands of which, mostly recovered from ancient tombs, and now open to the examination of all, are stored in the great public Museums of Europe. They only occasionally illustrate our Homeric texts, but very often the "Tale of Troy" as known to the Tragics.

3. That the poets of the Periclean age did not possess

[1] It is obvious, that if our Homeric poems were compiled by διασκευασται from older materials, *some* episodes in them will be more or less closely coincident with the tragic accounts. But it is an illogical conclusion to assume that, because of such occasional coincidences, the tragedies must have been taken from "Homer" as we have him, e.g. because Thersites is mentioned in the Philoctetes of Sophocles, (442,) and the exchange of gifts between Hector and Ajax (Il. VII. 303) in the play of that name, therefore he must have had before him the accounts given in the Iliad; or that the allusions to the hackneyed dramatic subject of Ulysses and the Cyclops in Aristophanes and Euripides are any *proof* that they knew of our Odyssey. On the contrary, the statement of Sophocles (Aj. 1030), that Hector was killed by being tied to the car of Achilles by the belt he had received from Ajax, is quite inconsistent with Il. XXII. 397.

[2] An excellent epitome of the whole "Tale of Troy" is given in Mr A. S. Murray's Handbook of Mythology, pp. 283—307. Such portions of it as can be collected from Pindar and the extant Greek plays, I have given in the Preface to Vol. II. of the Iliad.

Homer in the same form in which we have it, is further shown by their entirely *ignoring*, as it were, those very scenes and episodes which we regard as the chief beauties of the poet.

4. Plato is not only the first writer who cites or appeals to our Homeric texts with any definiteness, but he is the first to speak of *reading and writing* in our sense of the words[1].

5. The Iliad and the Odyssey are composed throughout on the principle of slight *allusions* to incidents, of which the Tragics evidently had a full and detailed account[2]. And the way in which these allusions are made always presupposes the fuller story to be known to the reader or hearer.

6. The few incidents which are common to our Homeric texts and the Tragics (e.g. the dragging of Hector round the walls of Troy, the firing of the Grecian fleet, the drawing of lots for the duel between Hector and Ajax, the capture of the steeds of Rhesus, the return of Menelaus and the other heroes) show a difference of treatment[3] which is an evidence that both came

[1] As far as I know, the earliest mention of reading books is in Aristoph. Ran. 1114 (B.C. 405), *βιβλίον τ' ἔχων ἕκαστος μανθάνει τὰ δεξιὰ*, where the practice is distinctly spoken of *as a novelty*.

[2] Thus the early education and adventures of Achilles, his raids in the Troad, his death by the hand of Paris, the detention of the fleet at Aulis, the judgment of Paris, the carrying away of Helen, the wooden horse, the death of Memnon, the capture of Troy, suicide of Ajax, murder of Agamemnon, disguise of Ulysses as a beggar, the envoy to demand Helen, &c., and very many other of the *primary* Homeric stories current in the Periclean age, are only just touched upon in the lightest possible manner in our texts; while conversely many of the scenes which are primary in *our* poems, and have given them in an especial degree their great celebrity, are nowhere alluded to by Pindar or the Tragics, e.g. the meeting of Hector and Andromache (VI. 395 seqq., where Ἑκτορίδης reads like a modernism), the lament of Andromache over Hector's death, Ulysses with Calypso, the transformations of Proteus (probably adapted from the older story of the transformations of Thetis, i.e. of the ever-changing sea), the palace of Alcinous, the recognition of Ulysses by Penelope, the slaughter of the suitors, the quarrel of Achilles and Agamemnon, the combat of Achilles and the river Xanthus, the funeral games in honour of Patroclus, the Διὸς ἀπάτη in Il. XIV. (a remarkable episode, very peculiar in style), the interview of the Envoys with Achilles in Il. IX. &c.

[3] In the Iliad Achilles dragged Hector *ἑπτὰ φίλον ἦπορ ἀπηύρα*, but in Soph. Aj. 1031, *ἕς τ' ἀπέψυξεν βίον*. So the λιταὶ of Thetis in Il. I. 505 differ from the petition in Pind. Ol. II. 80.

from earlier and *variable* sources, i.e. the unwritten "Homer" of the rhapsodists, rather than that the tragic account was derived directly from our Homeric poems.

7. There are many evident *repetitions* of scenes and incidents (to say nothing of verses and passages) in our texts, which show a fluctuating ballad-literature from which our poems were made up. Thus, the deaths of Hector and Patroclus through supernatural agency, the funerals of Hector, Patroclus, and Achilles (in Od. XXIV), the lament of Briseis over the dead Patroclus (XIX. 282) and of Andromache over the dead Hector (XXII. 477), the pedigrees of Glaucus (Il. VI. 145) and of Aeneas (XX. 208)[1], the detention of Ulysses in precisely the same manner by Calypso as well as by Circe, the two cannibal giants Antiphates and the Cyclops, were probably due to the efforts of rival rhapsodists, and from them have found a place in the compilation of our texts. The transformations of Proteus, I have already remarked, seem a *replica* of the story of Thetis. And the celebrated description of the arms of Achilles in the 18th book of the Iliad has no recognition in Pindar or the Tragics, the older and more genuine account, of which this is a repetition or imitation, being that of the arms given to Peleus by the gods (Eur. El. 455—75, alluded to in Il. XVIII. 84,) and taken by Hector from the body of Patroclus.

8. The main topics, not to say the almost hackneyed themes, of the Tragics, occupy so subordinate a place (if indeed any place) in our Homer, that it seems impossible they should have looked to our poems as the source of their information[2]. It is abundantly evident (especially from the titles of the lost plays) that they had the whole Trojan story before them, while our Iliad is a mere incident in it. The building of Troy, its

[1] Compare especially VI. 150, 195, with XX. 185, 213, coincidences which demonstrate that both followed some common story in the earlier epics.

[2] It has been argued, that the Tragics purposely avoided the field occupied by the immortal Homer. But *why* should three dramatic writers have agreed in following secondary and inferior poems? This was felt to be a difficult question by Aristotle himself (Poet. Chap. 23). K. O. Müller says (Hist. Gr. Lit. p. 66) that the Cyclic poets "built upon particular allusions in Homer, and formed from them long passages of their own poems." This is a pure assumption, and one that is remotely improbable.

capture by Hercules[1], the birth of Paris, his judgment of the rival goddesses, his building of the fleet and carrying off of Helen, the marriage of Peleus and Thetis, the oaths of the suitors, the sacrifice of Iphigenia, the consequent vengeance of Clytemnestra on Agamemnon and of Orestes on his mother, the capture and burning of Troy by Philoctetes and Neoptolemus, the woes of Priam, Hecuba, Andromache, Electra, the return of the heroes, the carrying off and disposal of the captives, the death of Neoptolemus,—these were the subjects of the "Homer" of B.C. 450, whether we choose to call them "Cyclic" or "Homeric."

9. Conversely, if the Iliad and Odyssey have frequent allusions to the stories more fully worked out in the tragedies, it is natural and reasonable to suppose they were made up from the same sources as the tragedies themselves[2].

10. It is nearly certain that no *written* Greek literature existed before, or much before, the middle of the fifth century B.C. And as so many other poems on Troy unquestionably coexisted, and were orally recited as the works of a bard called

[1] Alluded to in Il. v. 640, xx. 145.

[2] In the time of Thucydides, *circa* B.C. 410, Ὅμηρος began to be applied distinctively to the author (or authors) of the Iliad and Odyssey, while the older bards, who were no longer, as they had been in the time of Herodotus, called by the same general name of Homer, were classed *anonymously* as οἱ ποιηταί, or οἱ παλαιοὶ τῶν ποιητῶν, a term which Thucydides uses several times (I. 5. 10. 11. 13. 21, VI. 2). In later ages, when the "Cyclus," including both of our Homeric poems, was arranged by (as it is generally thought) Alexandrine compilers, distinctive names were found, perhaps from local traditions, for those "Cyclic" poets whom we have been taught to consider post-Homeric and inferior imitators. We know that in the time of Herodotus all the ballad-poetry relating to the war of Troy as well as to that of Thebes went by the general name of "Homer." There is every probability that the "Catalogue" in the second book of the Iliad was taken directly from the Κύπρια ἔπη, which seems to have been κατ' ἐξοχὴν *the* Homer of antiquity. The "Catalogue" was clearly the composition of a poet who was not an Asiatic, but was intimately acquainted, as a wandering bard might well be, with the geography of Upper Greece. Nothing can be clearer than that the compiler of the Odyssey made large use of the poem of the Νόστοι. Indeed, the very words in Od. I. 326, ὁ δ' Ἀχαιῶν νόστον ἄειδεν, seem to point to this. The Agamemnon of Aeschylus is composed from the Κύπρια ἔπη, and the Νόστοι and the Ἰλίου πέρσις, but has no special allusion to our Homeric texts, the murder of Agamemnon, &c., being a commonplace of the older epics.

"Homer," the preservation of two special and primary poems (supposing them, against all internal evidence, to have then existed as such,) for *four* centuries, genuine and unmixed with the rest, is as nearly an impossibility as we can conceive anything to be. And this, of course, is a question independent of the mere powers of human memory to recite a certain number of verses.

11. When a demand for a written literature grew up with the increased facilities for writing and reading shortly before the age of Plato, an epitome or compilation, in a continuous and dramatised form, was made from the older epics, the name of Homer being, as a matter of course[1], retained for the author, and *probably* the names of older poems[2] being selected as the titles,—the primary subjects of these compilations being the adventures of two heroes, Achilles and Ulysses[3]. And in the time of Plato these two long written poems had entirely become the *textus receptus,—the* Homer of the Greek world, as they have ever since remained.

12. In order that these two poems should maintain their claim to a remote antiquity, on which their literary credit

[1] They would have had no chance of success if they had not been put forward as "Homer," and, this being the case, few cared to inquire—for it never became a serious literary question, in the absence of any other *written* poems on the *Troica,*—who was the real compiler. Every rhapsodist, probably, had been, in a sense, his own Homer, and the latest and most fully developed form of the poems was "Homer" still.

[2] Herodotus (if the passages are genuine, which has been doubted), mentions once an Iliad and twice an Odyssey by name, II. 116, 117, IV. 29.

[3] Representing, in their remotest origin as Aryan legends, the sun in his mid-day splendour, and the setting sun (δύσετο δ' ἠέλιος, κ.τ.λ.). Thus, *Achilles* is the son of Thetis, because the sun is born, as it were, out of the eastern ocean, and the descent of Ulysses into Hades is the setting of the sun in the west. The treatment of the poems however is purely human, not to say consciously historical. The scenery and minute descriptions of animals and natural phenomena prove the author of the Iliad,—some poet or rhapsode of transcendant genius,—to have been an Asiatic. Equally strong indications lead me to infer that the compilation of the Odyssey was made in Magna Graecia, or by a Graeco-Italic bard, who regarded as a local and national literature the legendary adventures of Ulysses on the western coast of Italy, and the western islands of Greece,—lands probably almost unknown and viewed only as the "dim west" by much earlier rhapsodists who had sung of the westering sun-god.

depended, it was necessary that they should preserve an archaic style and character, presenting the most marked differences from the dialects of the day[1]. Nevertheless, the descriptions of the armour, the war-chariots, the chariot-races, the details of the ships, the walls, the trenches[2], &c., are in the main those of the age of Pericles, as can be shown by abundant existing records and monuments. So that, if the descriptions are really as old as B.C. 850, we are driven to conclude that a warlike and enterprising nation had made no advance or improvement in any of these matters for four centuries[3].

13. The *euphemistic* language with which Helen is always spoken of in our poems, contrasted with the execration of her name commonly found in the Tragics, indicates that the superstition mentioned by Plato in the Phaedrus (p. 243) in connexion with the blindness of Stesichorus, was strongly prevalent when our poems were compiled[4].

14. The minute and technical anatomical nomenclature in the Iliad seems to show that the writings or teachings of Hippocrates were familiarly known to the compiler of that poem, who appears to have been both a countryman and a contemporary of his[5].

[1] It is very important here to remark, that Greek art affected antiquity in vase-paintings, sculptures of Athena with her aegis, Gorgon-heads, inscriptions written *βουστροφηδόν*, and especially in oracles. Hence a *spurious Homer*, so far from being, as many think, a literary impossibility, is quite consistent with habitual Greek deception. The epics attributed to Orpheus are certainly spurious. The detection, of course, is difficult just in proportion to the skill of the compiler in the art of deception.

[2] Compare the towered wall and fosse in Il. VII. 338—41, with the description of Thucydides of the circumvallation (which he seems to have mistaken for the city wall) of Plataea in Book III.

[3] The description in Il. XXIII. 517, of the closeness of a horse's tail to the chariot-wheel, *exactly* coincides with, and indeed, curiously illustrates, the sculptured horse-cars on the frieze of the Parthenon. The accounts of the chariot-race in the above passage and in the Electra of Sophocles are as nearly as possible identical. But Sophocles merely described the custom of his time, and nowhere gives us reason to suppose he knew the Homeric account.

[4] That it was a popular superstition, is shown by the Helena of Euripides (B.C. 415), which turns on the well-known story, introduced by Stesichorus, of the *εἴδωλον Ἑλένης*. In the Cypria, Helen was represented as the daughter of Zeus and Nemesis (K. O. Müller, Hist. Gr. Lit. p. 68), and the Tragics clearly followed this account.

[5] Thus in Il. v. 305, *ἔνθα τε μηρὸς*

15. The language of our Homeric poems, though in the main archaic, is replete with words and idioms, not to say verb-forms, *of the middle Attic period,* which the influence of Athens on the Asiatic coast in the age of Pericles will sufficiently account for. And the violations of the now well-ascertained laws of the digamma are so frequent and so glaring, that no attempt to emend can satisfactorily remove them. They are due to the unskilfulness of rhapsodists in times when the digamma had become wholly disused, and was only traditionally retained in imitation of the genuine old epics[1].

16. Allusions occur, as it would seem, to historical events in the 5th century B.C., e.g. to the destruction of Mycenae by the Argives in 468 (Il. IV. 53), and the building of the Erechtheum on the Athenian Acropolis[2].

Against these, and indeed several other minor, yet not less valid arguments[3], it is pleaded,

1. That Herodotus expressly says "Homer lived 400 years before himself[4]."

ἰσχίῳ ἐνστρέφεται, κοτύλην δέ τέ νιν καλέουσιν, the subject to *καλέουσιν* must be *οἱ τέχνην ἔχοντες*, not *οἱ πολεμοῦντες*. But shall we say that human anatomy was a *τέχνη* as early as B.C. 850? Let the student thoughtfully examine the following passages; Il. V. 67. 73. 306. 579; VIII. 325; XI. 424; XIII. 546. 569. 651; XVII. 315; XXII. 325—8. Can we believe that such a phrase as *δημὸς ἐπινεφρίδιος* (XXI. 204), "the fat on the kidneys," belongs to a primitive form of language? To these might be added certain astronomical passages, as XVIII. 486—9, XXII. 29, which might seem to reflect the teaching of Anaxagoras, but that Hesiod might be quoted in evidence of an early astronomical nomenclature.

[1] Precisely the same partial use of the digamma is found in Theocritus, Apollonius, and other late epic poets. In fact, this *affectation* of a digamma-use, very imperfectly as it is carried out, is to me one of the most decisive proofs of pseudo-archaism.

[2] Od. VII. 81, *αὐτὰρ Ἀθήνη δῦνεν Ἐρεχθῆος πυκινὸν δόμον*, where the epithet *πυκινὸν*, "built of closely-fitted stones," perhaps indicates a contrast with an earlier and much ruder temple of the masonry known as "Cyclopian." See also Il. II. 547. The references in Il. IX. 381, 405, to the wealth of Orchomenus, Egyptian Thebes, and Delphi, can hardly be earlier than Herodotus.

[3] Summed up in my paper on "The comparatively late composition of the Iliad and the Odyssey," in Vol. XI. of the Cambridge Philosophical Transactions.

[4] To which it may be fairly objected (a) That the statement is a mere guess, and in accordance with the fondness of the Greeks for giving precise dates, and for claiming a great antiquity. (b) That his placing Hesiod

2. That the language generally as well as the syntax is evidently very archaic.

3. That the scant mention of riding[1], of working iron; the non-mention of laws, of writing, of slaves (*δοῦλοι*)[2], of coining, of cock-crowing[3]; the primitive descriptions of heroes' tents, their meals, the palaces of the chiefs, the small knowledge of any geography but that of the Asiatic coast, the allusions to Phoenician traders and Phoenician arts, all point to a really great antiquity.

4. That the generally chaste and virtuous manners described in our Homer are evidences, not of a philosophic and ethical conception of character, but of a real primitive innocence such as the "Juventus Mundi" may actually have exhibited.

5. That no record of any compiler, other than the general name of "Homer," has come down to us as the author of such great and celebrated poems as the Iliad and the Odyssey. This, it is said, is quite incredible in itself[4].

The primary object of the present paper is to show that the second argument,—a very important one, of course,—derived from the archaic forms of language, *is deceptive*. I shall maintain,

in the same category goes very far indeed to show that he really knew nothing about it. (c) That the assertion on the passage, that "Homer and Hesiod composed the theogony for the Greeks, and gave names to the gods," though it may suit the *Κύπρια ἔπη*, certainly does not fall in with our Iliad and Odyssey. K. O. Müller (Hist. Gr. Lit. p. 68) remarks that the *Cypria* "had much of a rude attempt at philosophising on mythology."

[1] Il. xv. 684; Od. v. 371.

[2] But *ἀνδραπόδεσσι* occurs in Il. vii. 475, *δμῶες* and *δμωαί* in the Odyssey.

[3] Prof. Geddes, on Plat. Phaed. p. 265 (note v).

[4] I see no great improbability in a suggestion I formerly made (though I lay no stress upon such a mere guess), that Antimachus of Colophon, a contemporary and countryman of Herodotus, (whose language presents such marked and numerous affinities to the language of the Iliad,) and who is known to have been an "editor" of Homer (Wolf, Prolegom. § 39), was the real *διασκευαστὴς* or *διορθωτὴς* of the Iliad in its present form. That some verses of Antimachus are preserved as distinctively his, proves nothing. It is evident that no compiler would allow the work to bear any other name than "Homer." The editorial name would have been eclipsed by the greater name, and become, as it has become, irrevocably lost, though a dim tradition of Antimachus (as afterwards of Aristotle) as "editor" of Homer has survived.

that a very old and almost infinitely versatile epic vocabulary, and even old verses and old episodes, with some modifications[1], could very easily be re-combined, re-adjusted, altered, enlarged, added to, and even altogether re-modelled, by a set of professional men, characteristically called "fitters" and "botchers," ῥαψῳδοὶ and τέκτονες ὕμνων[2], even up to the age of Plato.

That these epic reciters made not merely a boast of, but a trade and a livelihood by, their memory and skill, is no matter of guess, but is distinctly attested by Plato and Xenophon. We know also, not only from the clever imitations of the oracles and of Homeric verses so frequently composed in joke by Aristophanes, but from the works of the late epic poets, e.g. Apollonius Rhodius, Quintus Calaber, Musaeus, &c., that an archaic *jargon* (not to use the term in a disparaging sense) existed, of so varied and flexible a kind as to form at once a ready and an inexhaustible store of word-material to epic reciters and composers. It was so essentially a verse-dialect, that, like the pieces of coloured glass in a kaleidoscope, turn it which way you would, it fell into shape, and produced patterns that easily passed for antique in a wholly uncritical age[3]. Now this dialect, though in its general character archaic, was undoubtedly subject to the same general laws which govern all language; it was liable to endless modifications by constant accretion and additions. It was the "Homeric" dialect; and as such, i.e. as an old verse-dialect distinct from the more

[1] e.g. the long stories told by Nestor in Book xi. and elsewhere, that about Meleager in the ninth Book, &c. These were old Achaean ballads, totally alien to the general tenour of the Iliad, but worked into it by the compiler to vary the interest. The constant reference to the birth and adventures of Hercules clearly comes from the same sources.

[2] Pind. Pyth. iii. 113. Plato, *Ion* (passim). Xen. Conviv. iii. 6, and Memorab. iv. 2, 10. On the διασκευασταὶ, or "revisers" of the Homeric texts, before the Alexandrines, see Wolf, Proleg. § 34.

[3] It is difficult to read the later epic poets without strongly feeling this. Apollonius and Q. Calaber show marvellous versatility, and had they lived at a much earlier age, their language, as we have it, would never have been questioned, but accepted as truly archaic. This being granted, we must admit how easy it was for the Homeric ῥαψῳδοὶ to assert the genuineness of long episodes, composed, in fact, by themselves.

modern prose-dialect[1], or the language of current literature and conversation, it had a separate existence in a sense, but it was not therefore *unalterable* during some hundreds of years. So long as Homerids and Rhapsodists lived and sang, the language they used was in effect a living, though an old-fashioned language.

Now, if it can be shown (as I think it can) that some of these Homeric forms were partially misunderstood, and that a not unfrequent misuse and confusion of them may be detected by a critical examination of the language of the Iliad and the Odyssey; then this fact, combined with the large admixture of apparently late words and idioms, and the frequent misuse of the digamma, will go far to shake our confidence in the alleged vast antiquity of our Homeric texts. The question of their genuineness will have to be reconsidered; and all lovers of plain truth will be called upon to make a decision, founded not on sentiment[2], but on sound logical induction.

Let us first appeal to common sense, and put this plain question. Is it possible to conceive that poems so long, so complex, so comprehensive in their plan, as the Iliad and the Odyssey, should have descended to us pure, separate and distinct from the numerous coexisting epics on the same subjects and the same heroes, though for at least four centuries (if there is any truth in the date assigned by Herodotus) none of these

[1] The *old* prose dialect, as we see in Herodotus, and indeed in Thucydides as compared with Demosthenes and even with Plato, had a large admixture of poetic forms, inflexions, and phrases.

[2] The weight of mere authority over ordinary minds is something well-nigh irresistible. Even now, when inquiry on almost every subject is rife, and philology has made such great advances, it seems to many a plain literary heresy and a heartless scepticism, not to say an unwarrantable presumption, to call in question the genuineness of poems which no one has expressed any serious doubts about for more than two thousand years! We may however feel certain that no critical examination of the Homeric language was made before the age of the Alexandrines, who were prepossessed with a reverential conviction that Homer was Homer. We know that even in Plato's time (Phaedr. p. 252 B) rejected verses, *ἀπόθετα ἔπη*, were in circulation; and the editorial liberties taken long afterwards by Zenodotus and Aristarchus, as frequently recorded in the Venetian Scholia, prove beyond a doubt how late was, at least, the formation and redaction of our Homeric texts.

poems existed in writing at all? Is it possible to conceive that half a dozen rivers should flow into a lake, and yet the waters of two of them,—the largest, it may be,—should pass through unmixed with the rest? The very fact, known to us from Herodotus, that other epics than those which we possess (viz. the Epigoni and the Cypria) *were* in his time attributed to Homer, leaves us not a hope that such a separation could have continued, and that too in all the cities of "sporadic" Hellas, and with all the rhapsodists of Asia, Italy, Attica, and the Peloponnese. For there does not seem to have been with them any critical separation of Homeric from non-Homeric, which was a figment of later times, due entirely to the absorbing popularity attained by our poems[1].

The Homeridae[2], we know, were a class or clan of professional rhapsodes who pretended to an hereditary knowledge as well as claimed the sole custody of the Homeric poems. Were there no impostors among these men, or no rival geniuses? Was pseudo-archaism in vase-painting wholly unknown? Was there no false antiquity assigned to oracles and inscriptions on *ἀναθήματα* at Delphi and elsewhere? Is then the mere pretence and assertion of a great antiquity of any high value in the face not only of strong improbability, but of combined internal and external evidence[3] in the opposite direction?

Or, to take another line of inquiry,—is there no charm in novelty itself? Is it not conceivable that, as Chaucer and Shakespeare worked up old tales and traditions, so the *Troica* were recombined and reproduced in countless forms, and that (by what we have learnt to call the law of natural selection) the best, even though the latest, of these came uppermost and finally put out of existence the rest?

This view indeed derives some support from the language of

[1] The "Little Iliad," said to have been composed by Lesches, was attributed by many to Homer (K. O. Müller, Hist. Gr. Lit. p. 66). There can be no question that the Tragics, who borrowed very largely from this poem, as from the Cypria and the Νόστοι, regarded them all as "Homer."

[2] Ὁμηρίδαι, ῥαπτῶν ἐπέων ἀοιδοί, Pind. Nem. II. 1.

[3] Viz. the coincidence of apparent modernisms in the language, and the silence of Pindar and the Tragics.

the Odyssey itself. In a verse which not only directly violates the law of the digamma, and therefore cannot be very ancient, but contains a Platonic adverb, probably of the later Attic dialect, (Od. I. 10,) the Muse is thus invoked,—

τῶν ἁμόθεν γε, θεὰ θύγατερ Διὸς, εἰπὲ καὶ ἡμῖν.

The only reasonable interpretation of *καὶ ἡμῖν* is, "tell it to us *also*, as it has been told to others before." And with the same kind of consciousness on the part of the writer that novelty had its charms, we read in Od. I. 351

τὴν γὰρ ἀοιδὴν μᾶλλον ἐπικλείουσ' ἄνθρωποι,
ἥτις ἀκουόντεσσι νεωτάτη ἀμφιπέληται.

A full examination of the Homeric language would possibly require a volume as large as Buttmann's Lexilogus[1]. All that I can hope to do in a brief space is to point out such inconsistencies and anomalies in the Homeric vocabulary as tend to show that much at least of what we have is, in the main, the later work of a pseudo-archaic compiler.

I shall pass over at present a rather large class of words which I consider characteristic of the fully-developed language of the Periclean age, and to have no pretension whatever to belong to the archaic or *heroic* period. They are such words as we find in familiar colloquial use in the time of Aristophanes, and seem, for the most part, of Attic rather than Ionic stamp. Such are, *παππάζειν* compared with the Aristophanic *πατερίζειν*, 'to say *Papa*'; *κέλης*, 'a riding-horse,' *κελητίζειν*, 'to ride on horseback,' *πλίσσεσθαι*, 'to amble as a mule,' *χυτλοῦσθαι* (*χυτλάζειν* Arist.), 'to anoint at the bath,' *χοῖνιξ*, 'a corn-measure,' *μετοκλάζειν* (*ὀκλαδίας* Arist.), 'to rest alternately on one knee,' *ἐλεὸν*, 'a meat-tray,' *ἡμερὶς*, 'a cultivated vine,' *κυκεών*, *ἔρανος*, *εὐαγγέλιον*, *σκότιος* = *νόθος*, *δεταὶ*, *taedae*, *κνῆστις*, 'a cheese-knife,' *ὅλμος*, 'a mortar,' the use of *ἀὴρ* for 'air' (as distinct from

[1] A large part of the Lexilogus is taken up with the endeavour to reconcile and explain inconsistencies of usage. Buttmann never seems to have been troubled with any serious doubt about the genuineness of our texts. The idea does not appear to have occurred to him. The view I have advocated furnishes, of course, a short and ready way out of the verbal labyrinth in which he found himself (sometimes hopelessly) entangled.

'mist,' Il. XIV. 288, Ar. Pac. 750), *σχίζαι*, 'pieces of split wood,' *οἱ ἀμφὶ Πρίαμον*, 'Priam and his friends,' III. 146, *κανών*, 'a bar across a shield,' and 'a stick' used in weaving (VIII. 193, XXIII. 761, Ar. Thesm. 822—5), *ἀνθρακιά*, 'a heap of embers,' *τεκταίνεσθαι*, 'to plan and plot,' *περιδόσθαι τινος*, 'to wager,' *μὴ ὤφελλε γενέσθαι*, *δειπνεῖν ἐν ὥρῃ*, 'to take an early dinner,' *ἐκεῖνοι*, 'the other side,' 'the enemy' (XVIII. 188), *σάλπιγξ*, *σπόγγος*, *χόανος* (*χοάνη*), *τροχὸς κεραμικὸς*, *ὀπός*, 'verjuice,' *κῆπος*, 'a pleasure-ground,' *ἔπαλξις*, 'a battlement,' the stadium end and the terminal pillar (XXIII. 332), *ἐπιδοῦναι* (*ἐπίδοσις*), 'a free gift' (XXIII. 559), *μολύβδαινα* (*μόλυβδος*), *κέραμοι* for 'wine-jars'; to which may be added, the minute description of the parts of a chariot with wheels of *eight* spokes and *iron* axle, in v. 722—30, the offering of the Peplus to Athene, VI. 90, the writing *ἐν πίνακι πτυκτῷ*, VI. 169 (whatever the nature of the writing may be supposed to have been), *κρίνασθαι ὀνείρους*, 'to interpret dreams,' &c. It may always be said, and some will think with force, that we cannot *prove* that such words did not belong to the archaic vocabulary of B.C. 850. For this reason I shall also dismiss without further discussion, and simply record as suspected, a class of *philosophic* words, implying mental states, and very much used by Plato and Aristotle, e.g. *ἀφραίνειν*, *δειλαίνειν*, *μωραίνειν*, *χαλεπαίνειν*, *κροαίνειν*, *βλεμεαίνειν*, *μαργαίνειν*, *δραίνειν*, *ὁρμαίνειν*, *θαυμαίνειν*, *μενεαίνειν*, *κυδαίνειν*. I shall not dwell further on the numerous *anatomical* terms, to which I have already alluded, nor collect all the examples of Atticisms, such as *ὁτὲ μὲν*, *ὁτὲ δὲ* or *ἄλλοτε*, = *ἐνίοτε*, *ἐπίτηδες*, *ἀμόθεν*, *σπουδῇ* = *μόλις*, *αἰκῶς* for *ἀεικῶς*, *εὐναὶ* for 'soldiers' quarters,' *εἶκειν* for *ἐοικέναι*,—of adjectives of frequent occurrence in the Attic writers, as *γενναῖος*, *ἀλλοῖος*, *πεμπταῖος*, *ἄσσα* for *ἅ τινα*, or of such forms as *ὁ αὐτὸς*, 'the same,' *ὁσάκις*, *quotiens*, *δῆσεν* for *ἐδέησεν* (Il. XVIII. 100, Ar. Ran. 265); such futures as *ἀεικιῶ*, *κτεριοῦσι*, *ἐπαγλαϊεῖσθαι*, *κρεμόω* for *κρεμάσω*, *ἑλόωσι* for *ἕλωσι*, *ἀντιόων* for *ἀντιάσων*, which seem to represent, in a pseudo-archaic form, the Attic *ἑλῶ*, *σκεδῶ*, *δαμᾷ* for *δαμάσει*. In Il. XXIII. 361, *μεμνέῳτο* is like a pseudo-epic imitation of the Attic optatives *μεμνῄμην* and *κεκλῄμην*, and so *βιῷατο* (Il. XI. 467) is suspiciously like the Platonic *θεῷτο* and *αἰτιῷτο*. I cannot believe

that such forms as *ἀεικίσσασθαι* or *ἑταιρίσσασθαι* or *ἑτοιμάσσαντο* or *ὁμηγυρίσασθαι* or *ὀπάσασθαί τινα*, 'to take one as a comrade,' were part of the vocabulary in use four centuries before the time of Herodotus, and two or three centuries earlier than the smallest scrap of a Greek inscription has ever been found. I feel morally certain that a long list of words in *-άζω* and *-ίζω* (active and middle) was the coinage of quite a late period, and adopted from their expressiveness and metrical convenience,—accretions, as it were, to the old epic vocabulary. The following will suffice as specimens; *πτωσκάζειν*, 'to play the beggar,' *προμαχίζειν*, *προποδίζειν*, *πολεμίζειν*, *πελεμίζειν*[1], *κτεατίζειν*, *μοχθίζειν*, *πειρητίζειν*, *κεραΐζειν*, *ἐναρίζειν*, *καπνίζειν*, *θαμίζειν*, *αἰτίζειν*, *ὀαρίζειν*, *ὀχλίζειν*, *ἀολλίζειν*, *στροφαλίζειν*, *δνοπαλίζειν*, *ἐγγυαλίζειν*, *μακαρίζειν*,—words of sound, formed by *onomatopoeia*, as *κοναβίζειν*, *καναχίζειν*, *μινυρίζειν*, *κροταλίζειν*, *χρεμετίζειν*, *ἀνακυμβαλιάζειν*,—ethical words, like *ἀλεγίζειν*, *ἀθερίζειν*, *ἀτίζειν*, *ἐρατίζειν*, and the medial forms of the like kind, *ἀφοπλίζεσθαι*, *πληκτίζεσθαι*, *μετατροπαλίζεσθαι*, *κακίζεσθαι*, *οἰνίζεσθαι*, *αἰνίζεσθαι*, *νεμεσίζεσθαι*, *ὀπίζεσθαι*, *ἑταιρίζεσθαι*, *μεγαλίζεσθαι*, *ἀεκάζεσθαι*, *ἀγκάζεσθαι*, *μιγάζεσθαι*, *γουνάζεσθαι*. There are almost as many forms in *-άζω*, e.g. *σκοπιάζειν*, *μιμνάζειν*, *ῥυστάζειν*, *ἰσάζειν*, *ἑλκυστάζειν*, *δικάζειν*, *νευστάζειν*, *ἀνιάζειν*, *ῥιπτάζειν*, *ἀβροτάζειν*, *πειράζειν*, *ἀλυσκάζειν*, *ἠγηλάζειν*, *οἰνοποτάζειν*, *εἰλαπινάζειν*. Not one of these verbs, as it seems to me, has any pretension to be really archaic. But the Homeric language is so largely interspersed with them that, if the words are modern, we must conclude the whole text was recast and remodelled in late ages, i.e. not very long before the time of Plato. And this theory is perfectly compatible with a general archaic vocabulary and style of composition: the materials of our Homer, as well as a great part of the language, may really be very ancient, though the poems were wholly recast in order to make them intelligible at all to the Greeks of a literary age. To take a single instance; no one doubts for a moment the

[1] That a few such words occur in Pindar, as *μωραίνειν* and *ὁρμαίνειν* occur in Aeschylus, is obviously no answer to an argument brought against an antiquity of four centuries earlier, especially as applied to a *class* of words, and not to isolated examples.

genuine antiquity of such a phrase as Ϝειλίποδες Ϝέλικες *βοῦς*. But its use in Od. I. 92 ignores the digamma, *μῆλ' ἀδινὰ σφάζουσι καὶ εἰλίποδας ἕλικας βοῦς*, and is therefore a more recent adaptation.

Such unpoetic phrases as *παραβάλλεσθαι ψυχήν*, 'to expose one's life to danger,' Il. IX. 322, *ποιεῖσθαι παῖδα*, 'to adopt as a son,' *ib.* 495, are much more like the language of the rhetoricians; while the syntax *ἐπὶ δώρων ἔρχεο*, 'go, while gifts are to be had,' IX. 602, *μάχης ἔπι*, 'while the battle lasted,' XVII. 368, is almost peculiar to the Attic orators[1]. In connection with the tradition that an *ἔκδοσις* of the Iliad was made by Aristotle, we may note two remarkable Homeric words casually occurring (i.e. without the least appearance of *quotation*) in the writings of Aristotle's pupil Theophrastus, *μή μ' ἀπογυιώσῃς*, Il. VI. 265, and *ὅταν γε τοὺς καθ' ἕνα ἀπογυιώσῃ*, Char. XIX. (*λαλιὰ*); and *ζωρότερόν τε κέραιε*, Il. IX. 203, compared with *ζωρότερον πιεῖν* in Char. XIV. (*ἀγροικία*)[2]. The number of words of a peculiar kind, common to Homer and the Alexandrine poets, (especially to Nicander,) in itself *proves* nothing; but it is a fact to be well considered, in determining the amount of innovation possibly introduced into our Homeric texts in the Alexandrine period.

The shortening of the long vowels, in accordance with the ancient practice, would easily give rise to many words that passed as genuine, e.g. *ἔσαν* for *ἦσαν*, *πάρεσαν*, *πρόεσαν*, *ἄνεσαν*, *ἔστασαν* for *ἔστησαν* (Il. IV. 334), *ὑπέρβασαν* for *ὑπερέβησαν*, *ἅλεται* for *ἅληται*, &c. Still more clearly are such forms as *ἔστατε*, *ἔστητε*, *ἔστασαν* (analogous to *ἑστὼς*), *ἐπιθεῖτε* (Opt.), *ὦξε* for *ὤϊξε*, *εἰκὼς* for *ἐοικὼς*, words of the Attic vocabulary. Again, such contractions as *ἀπορρηγνῦσι* (plural), *δαινῦτο* for *δαινύοιτο* (Il. XXIV. 665), remind one of *ζευγνῦσι* for *ζευγνύασι* (Eur. El. 1323) and *διασκεδαννῦται* in Plat. Phaed. p. 77, B. The strange word *τοῖσδεσσι* seems formed in imitation of the Attic *νυνὶ*, *οὑτοσὶ*, *ἐκεινοσὶ*, &c., engrafted on the familiar Ionic inflexion *χείρεσσι*, *πελάγεσσι*, &c. The use of *μὴ* with the indicative, as a form of

[1] See, for instance, Dem. Mid. p. 515, 2; 523, 28, *τὴν ἐπὶ τῶν ἰδίων δικῶν πλεονεξίαν*. Also 528, 44; 537, 70, *τὴν ἐπὶ τοῦ βοηθεῖν ἀποδιδόναι χάριν*.

[2] *εὔζωρον μέθυ* occurs in Eur. Alc. 757. So *ὑποβάλλειν*, 'to interrupt,' Il. XIX. 80, Theophr. Char. XIX.; *ἐνάρων ἐπιβαλλόμενος*, Il. VI. 68, 'eager for spoils,' an Aristotelean usage.

oath, e.g. in Il. x. 330, *μὴ μὲν τοῖς ἵπποισιν ἀνὴρ ἐποχήσεται ἄλλος*, and xv. 41, *μὴ δι' ἐμὴν ἰότητα Ποσειδάων ἐνοσίχθων πημαίνει Τρῶας*, is, as far as I know, peculiar to Homer and Aristophanes[1], and is much more likely to be of late than of early origin. The same remark applies to xix. 258—61, *ἴστω Ζεὺς—μὴ μὲν ἐγὼ κούρῃ Βρισηίδι χεῖρ' ἐπενεῖκαι*, followed immediately by *οὔτε—οὔτε*. There are two remarkable uses of *μὴ* with a participle and optative, so similar that both would seem to have been derived from some common verse; Od. iv. 684,

μὴ μνηστεύσαντες μηδ' ἄλλοθ' ὁμιλήσαντες
ὕστατα καὶ πύματα νῦν ἐνθάδε δειπνήσειαν,

and *ibid.* xi. 613,

μὴ τεχνησάμενος μηδ' ἄλλο τι τεχνήσαιτο,
ὃς κεῖνον τελαμῶνα ἑῇ ἐγκάτθετο τέχνῃ.

Such an idiom too as Od. xi. 290 seems more like the advanced Attic use,

οὐδέ τι Νηλεὺς
τῷ ἐδίδου, ὃς μὴ ἕλικας βόας εὐρυμετώπους
ἐκ Φυλάκης ἐλάσειε (*qui non egisset*).

Much might be said on the mixed use of the article, which is partly demonstrative (the "Homeric use," as it is called), partly after the more refined and subtle Attic use, e.g. *ἥ τε κόμη τό τε εἶδος*, iii. 55, *ὁ γέρων Πρίαμος* (xxi. 526), *ἐμὲ τὸν δύστηνον* (xxii. 59), *τὸν ἑὸν, suum*, xxiii. 295, *πεδίον τὸ Τρωικὸν*, (x. 11), *πεδίον τὸ Ἀλήιον* (vi. 201), *Μυρμιδόνων τὸν ἄριστον* (xviii. 10), *ὁ κλυτὸς Ἀχιλλεὺς* (xx. 320). Such anomalies as *οὔτε τὰ τεύχεα καλὰ*, xxi. 317, *τὸν ξεῖνον δύστηνον*, Od. xvii. 10, *ὁ μοχλὸς ἐλάϊνος*, *ib.* ix. 378, *τὰ μῆλα ταναύποδα*, *ib.* 464, resulted, perhaps, from a pedantic and incorrect imitation of the archaic style[2].

I may add to the above a play on words and names which is very characteristic of the age of the drama[3], e.g. *νηῆσαι νῆας*,

[1] Eccl. 1000, Av. 194, Lysist. 918.

[2] In Il. i. 340, we should perhaps punctuate *καὶ πρὸς τοῦ, βασιλῆος ἀπήνεος*, where the two last words are in apposition. In i. 11, *τὸν Χρύσην ἠτίμασεν ἀρητῆρα*, the syntax appears to involve a later use of the predicate, 'he had slighted Chryses in his capacity of priest.'

[3] I have given many examples from Euripides in the Preface to Vol. i. of my edition.

πῆλαι Πηλιάδα μελίην, ἀλᾶσθαι κατὰ πεδίον τὸ Ἀλήιον," Ἕκτωρ from ἔχειν (XXIV. 720), Ὀδυσσεὺς from ὀδύσασθαι, Πρωτεσίλαος (II. 702) from πρῶτος ἄλλεσθαι or ἐσάλλεσθαι, Τυχίος from τεύχων, VII. 220.

All the above uses are either really ancient, and were *reproduced* in the Attic period, or they are later developments of language *introduced* in the compilation of our Homeric texts. No one, of course, can assert which view is the true one. It is a question only of probabilities, and it is given but as a confirmatory argument, not as in itself decisive.

If we may judge by the really early vase-paintings, i.e. those as early as B.C. 500, the old names were not Μενέλαος and Ἀχιλλεύς, but Μενέλας and Ἀχιλεύς. Here therefore metrical innovation may fairly be suspected, and the more so, as Pindar prefers the older forms.

There are two adverbial forms which appear to be almost certainly late corruptions or developments. One is ὄχα, in the not unfrequent combination ὄχ' ἄριστος, the other is ὑπέρμορα (Il. II. 155). It is very conceivable that there was an old epic termination ἔξοχ' ἄριστος, 'prominently and conspicuously brave.' For metrical convenience in other parts of a verse, ἔξοχα was afterwards clipped down to ὄχα, a word absolutely unmeaning[1]; for, as Buttmann remarks, "take away the ἐξ, and you deprive the word of its significant part."

As for ὑπέρμορα, it follows the formation of the late Attic nouns ὁ παράλογος, ὁ ἀνάλογος, ὁ μετάμελος, and their adjectives and adverbs ἀνάλογον, ἀναλόγως, &c. They were, of course, at first prepositional clauses, that is, some act was done ἀνὰ or παρὰ λόγον, according to or against reason. Thus ὑπὲρ μόρον, ὑπὲρ αἶσαν (XX. 30) were the old terms; but ὑπέρμορα= ὑπερμόρως reads very like a late forgery.

Such words as ἑδανὸς in Il. XIV. 172, δέελος or δέελον in X. 466, and the occasional interchange or confusion of others, similar in form but quite distinct in origin, e.g. ἐΰς or ἠΰς 'brave,' ἑός or ὁς *suus*, εὖτε and ἠύτε (III. 10), further support

[1] The attempts to connect it with ὀχυρὸς are clearly wrong, since it is incredible that there should have been two formulae of different origin, ἔξοχ' ἄριστος and ὄχ' ἄριστος.

and justify the charge of pseudo-archaism. Some late rhapsode, in describing the fragrant oil with which Hera anointed herself, called it *ἀμβρόσιον* and *ἑδανόν*. He seems to have thought that, as *ἦσαν* was often *ἔσαν*, &c., he might use a form of *ἡδὺς* (*σϜαδ*) after the analogy of *ῥιγεδανὸς*, *ἠπεδανὸς*, *οὐτιδανὸς*, with the *ἡ* changed to *ἑ*. It appears certain from the context that *ἡδὺ* is the sense required; and so Hesychius explained *ἑδανόν* by *εὐῶδες*, *ἡδύ*. But it is not less clear that *ἑδανὸς* is a false form of the word. Buttmann (Lexil. in v.) is quite perplexed by it. That *ἑδανὸς* should be a by-form of *ἡδὺς* he allows to have no analogy in its favour, because the root-vowel is *ā*, not *ε*. He then suggests that it *may* represent *ἐὸς* or *ἐὸς* 'good,'—an old epithet which he recognises in the probably genuine, but obscure archaic phrase *θεοὶ δωτῆρες ἑάων*. But at the end, in a kind of despair, he comes back to the theory that, after all, *ἀδανὸς may* have become *ἑδανός*. But what are we to think of *ἀδανὸς*, a purely imaginary word, as a synonym of *ἡδύς*[1]?

It will be sufficient here to remark, that *παιδὸς ἑῆος*, *ἐῆος*, *ἑοῖο*, are over and over again confused, as the senses of 'brave son' or 'his (her) son' seem to predominate. A careful perusal of Buttmann's article in the Lexilogus on these words will show that the compiler of our text knew no clear distinction between them.

The passage in Il. x. 466 seems to me a curious example of evident "botching." It refers to Ulysses making a mark of a handful of reeds and twigs in order to recognise a certain tree on which he had hung up a war-spoil. The words are obscure, *δέελόν τ' ἐπὶ σῆμά τ' ἔθηκεν*, where the grammarians took *δέελον* to mean *δεσμὸν*, 'a tie,' as if from *δέω*. It is probable that some earlier verse had expressed "he put a plain mark on it," but *δῆλον*, through its archaic form *δέελον*, was mistaken for a noun.

There is, in the Iliad especially, an uncertainty, and apparently a confusion, in the forms of verbs, which can hardly be accounted for on any other theory than that of compilation

[1] Not less difficult is *ἐπεί χ' ἐῶμεν πολέμοιο*, 'when we are tired of war,' in xix. 402. This is probably formed on a false analogy as from *ἀω*, *satio*, connected with *ἄδην*, *adfatim*, *ἄσαι*, from the same or a closely cognate root as *ἡδύς*. Hardly less strange seems the form *ἄμεναι*, xxi. 70, apparently intended to represent *ἀαέμεναι*.

(διασκεύασις) from old and imperfectly understood materials. Thus, we have εἴσασθαι, εἰσάμενος, ἐεισάμενος, from a root Fισ or Fιδ, confused, by the spurious addition of F, with the root I, 'to go,' e.g. καταFείσατο γαίης, XI. 358, Ἕκτωρ δ' αὖτ' Αἴαντος ἐείσατο, XV. 415, τὼ μὲν ἐεισάσθην, XV. 544. No philologer, I suppose, pretends to account for a digamma in ἰέναι 'to go'; and in fact we have ῥεῖα μετεισάμενος and οὔ πῃ χροὸς εἴσατο in XIII. 90, 191. So too, if ἐπηετανὸς (ἐπιFετανὸς) is right, then ἐπετήσιος, Od. VII. 118, is wrong. Similarly, both ἐπάλμενος and ἐπιFάλμενος occur (Fαλ or σFαλ, *salio*), both ἰδεῖν and Fιδεῖν, ἀπειπεῖν and ἀποFειπεῖν, Il. XIX. 35, 75, ἕκαστος and Fέκαστος, ἡδὺς and Fηδὺς, ἄναξ and Fάναξ, θυγατέρα ἧν (σFὴν, *suam*) and πρὸς ὃν μεγαλήτορα θυμὸν, both ὑποδδείσαντες and ὑπεδείδεσαν (V. 521), where the δ is not merely doubled *in arsi*, but is due to an F or *y*, as in θεουδὴς for θεοδεFὴς (Lexil. p. 355, Peile, Etymol. p. 299, ed. 1). If Fεσ is the root of the verb 'to clothe,' then λάινον ἕσσο χιτῶνα in III. 57 must be a modernism. If ἐρύω is Fερύω (compare Lat. *veru*), as shown by the form αὐέρυσαν (I. 459) for ἀπFέρυσαν, then such verses as Il. IV. 492, νέκυν ἑτέρωσ' ἐρύοντα, I. 141, νῆα μέλαιναν ἐρύσσομεν, XVII. 635, ἠμὲν ὅπως τὸν νεκρὸν ἐρύσσομεν, XXIII. 21, Ἕκτορα δεῦρ' ἐρύσας, must also be modernisms like those ending with ἡδέος οἴνου, κακὰ πόλλ' ἐπιδόντα (XXII. 61), ἐνωπαδίως ἐσίδεσκεν (Od. XXIII. 94), and the like combinations, which are far too numerous to need dwelling further upon in this place.

Buttmann has written at considerable length on the numerous forms and varieties of meaning from ῥύομαι and ἐρύω (Lexil. in ἐρύεσθαι), such as ῥύσθαι, ἔρυτο, εἰρύσσατο, εἰρῦσαο, εἰρύαται, εἴρυντο, &c. The most probable account of ῥῡ́ω and ἐρῠ́ω, as it seems to me, is that the latter is shortened, on the principle of compensation, from Fρύω = Fερύω, like ῥῖγος, *frigus*, ῥόδον, Fρόδον (βρόδον), ῥάκος and Fράκος (*braccae*). The primary sense of both was *drag*, *draw*, or *pull away*, from which those of delivering, rescuing, protecting, keeping or observing, are easily derived. The naturally long syllable in ῥῡ́εσθαι might, perhaps, be shortened by its open position; but ῥῠσάμην (Il. XV. 29) seems wholly indefensible[1]; and when Buttmann says (Lexil.

[1] Thus λύω, θύω, φύω, sometimes have ῠ in the present tense; but such an aorist as ἐλῠ́σα or ἐφῠ́σα is contrary to analogy.

p. 308) "that the Attics afterwards used *ῥύσασθαι* long, is an usage which originated with them," he seems to me clearly trying to struggle out of a difficulty caused by his unquestioned acceptance of our Homeric texts. I think also that he is wrong in regarding the anomalous forms *ἔρῡτο* and *ἔρυσθαι* (Od. v. 484) as syncopated from *ἐρύετο* (imperf.) and *ἐρύεσθαι* (Lexil. p. 309), which he compares with *ἔρῡται* used by Apollonius, II. 1208. All these may have easily resulted from an uncritical confusion between *ῥῡω*, *ῥῦω* and *ἐρῡω*, *ἐρῦω*. Probably *ἔρυσθαι* was intended for an epic aorist with the augment retained, as in *ἐσσύμενος*, *ἔσπωνται*, Od. XII. 349.

There are not a few forms which seem to have been imperfectly understood by the rhapsodists, and so were referred now to one verb-root, now to another, in quite a different sense. This is a most important evidence of lateness; but I cannot do more here than indicate the chief instances that I have noted. It will be found that *ἀνέπαλτο* and some similar forms were referred sometimes to *ἄλλεσθαι*, sometimes to *πάλλω* (Il. XV. 645, XXIII. 692—4); *ταρπῆναι* to *τέρπω* and *τρέπω* (XIV. 314), *βέομαι* to *βιῶναι* and *βῆναι* (XV. 194, XXII. 431), *ἀνέσαι* to *εἶσα* and *ἵημι*[1], *ἔλσας* to *ἐλαύνω* and *εἰλέω*, *πεφήσεται* to *φένω* and *φαίνω*, *κεκάδοντο* and *κεκαδήσομαι* to roots *κηδ* and *χαδ*, *ἰσχανᾶν* to *ἔχω* and *ἴχαρ* (Il. XV. 723, XXIII. 300), *ὤνατο* and *ὠνοσάμην* to *ὀνίνημι* and *ὄνομαι* (XVII. 25, 173), while *στεῦτο* in Od. XI. 584 and *προθέουσιν* in Il. I. 291 seem figments from supposed archaic presents of *ἵστημι* and *τίθημι*. There was a like uncertainty as to *ἔργω*, *εἴργω*, and *ἐργάζομαι*. Thus, *γέφυραι ἐεργμέναι* evidently mean "artificial mounds" or embankments, in

[1] Some nouns of the rhetorical and philosophical period, e.g. *ἔφεσις*, *σύνεσις*, *ἄνεσις*, imply an aorist of *ἵημι* with the *σ* and not the *κ*. And there are compounds of *ἰέναι*, e.g. *ἐξεσίην ἐλθεῖν*, 'to go on an embassy,' *σύνεσις*, 'a union,' which might be cited in support of the common Homeric *εἴσομαι*, *εἴσατο* and its compounds. Perhaps therefore *εἶμι* *ibo*, equally with *εἰμὶ* *sum*, has lost an original *σ*. But in XIII. 657, *ἐς δίφρον δ' ἀνέσαντες*, the sense unmistakeably points to *εἶσα*, *colloco*, while in Od. XVIII. 265, *οὐκ οἶδ' εἴ κέν μ' ἀνέσει θεὸς*, and Il. XXI. 537, *οἱ δ' ἄνεσάν τε πύλας*, it must be a compound of *ἵημι*. In Il. XIV. 209, *εἰς εὐνὴν ἀνέσαιμι*, it might be referred to either verb. The late aorist *ἀνέθη* in Acts xvi. 26 may be compared with *ἄνεσαν*, *πάρεσαν*.

Il. v. 89. Perfect tenses were changed into secondary presents[1], as εἴκω from ἔικα, ἔοικα (whence the Attic εἴξασι and προσήιξαι), πεφεύγω (πεφεύγοι, Il. XXI. 609), ἀνώγω (ἀνώγοιμι, XIX. 206, ἀνώξω, XV. 295), πεφράδω (πεφράδοι, Il. XIV. 335), and aorist infinitives, as χραισμεῖν, ἰδεῖν, τυχεῖν, πεπιθεῖν, ἐνισπεῖν, were treated as present verbs in -έω, whence χραισμήσω, ἰδήσω[2], τυχήσω, πεπιθήσω (XXII. 223), ἐνισπήσω (Od. v. 98), εἰδήσω from εἰδέναι (I. 546)[3]. The epic aorists from the distinct roots λέγ and λέχ were identical in form, λέξομαι, ἐλέγμην, λέκτο, λέγμενος, λέχθαι, and this gave occasion, it would seem, to an intentional play on these two senses in Od. IV. 451—3,

πάσας δ' ἄρ' ἐπῴχετο, λέκτο δ' ἀριθμόν.
——— ἔπειτα δὲ λέκτο καὶ αὐτός.

But, if I mistake not, λέκτο from λεχ was a figment of the later rhapsodes. In Il. IX. 67, φυλακτῆρες (φυλακτῆρας, Aristarchus) δὲ ἕκαστοι λεξάσθων παρὰ ταφρὸν, there is an ambiguity between 'choosing' and 'reclining': in VIII. 519, λέξασθαι clearly has the latter sense.

I now come to some examples of words which seem to involve positive *error* in their use. The old attributive or descriptive epithet of seals, νέποδες, 'footless' (i.e. having undeveloped fore-paws or 'flippers'), is used in the Odyssey (IV. 404) for 'brood' or 'progeny'—a late use found also in Theocritus,

[1] A frequent Alexandrine use, as πεφύκω, δεδοίκω, in Theocritus. Such forms as βεβλήκοι, πεποίθῃς, βεβρώθοις, are perhaps also to be regarded as present, rather than oblique moods of the perfect.

[2] Also a form used by Theocritus.

[3] Though such forms as θήσω, στήσω, ἔστηκα, naturally enough suggested σχήσω, ἔσχηκα, as if from σχέω, resulting from an aorist σχεῖν, and ὀφλήσω, ὤφληκα, from ὀφλεῖν, it is remarkable that these, which seem Ionic forms, should chiefly appear in the later dialect of Demosthenes. With regard to reduplicated aorists, like ἀγαγεῖν, πεπιθεῖν, κεκαμεῖν, it is evident that their metrical convenience might have induced later rhapsodists to multiply them indefinitely, as πεφιδέσθαι, λελαβέσθαι, τεταρπέσθαι, πεπυθέσθαι. Such an aorist as ῆρσα from ἄρω, *apto*, Il. XIV. 167 (whence ἄρσαντες in Il. I. 136, Od. I. 280, in the sense of ἁρέσαντες, ἄρθμιον ποιήσαντες), seems unlike the archaic language. One might fairly doubt if ταλάσσαι=τλῆναι is really an old aorist, though the roots ταλ and τολ may be traced in other forms. It seems formed by an expansion of the imaginary τλάω into ταλάω, and inflecting it like σπάω, σπάσω. Similarly μεθιεῖν, 'to be remiss,' from a present ἵέω=ἵημι, and ᾤχηκεν from οἰχέω, Il. X. 252.

and possibly confounded with the early Italian word *nepotes*[1]. The accusative of χέρης, 'a handicraftsman,' was wrongly made a synonym of χερείονα, and constructed (IV. 400) with a genitive; and πλέας, 'full,' from an old word πλής, was mistaken for a syncopated form of πλείονας (Il. II. 129). The genitive of ἀγγελίη was wrongly supposed to be a nominative, ὁ ἀγγελίης (Il. III. 206, XIII. 252, XV. 640), and Buttmann does not seem able to disown its existence in our texts. The word τέλσος, whatever be its true sense in Il. XIII. 707, certainly does not mean τέλος, as it is made to mean in XVIII. 544,

οἱ δ' ὁπότε στρέψαντες ἰκοίατο τέλσον ἀρούρης,

and *ib.* 547,

ἱέμενοι νειοῖο βαθείης τέλσον ἱκέσθαι.

A considerable number of words occur in the Homeric texts which seem *dialectic* importations from cities not truly Hellenic; such, for instance, as might come from Magna Graecia, Alexandria, Macedonia, or from some of the Greek islands. But I am well aware that I am here treading on very delicate ground. I am suggesting what I cannot possibly prove; but I think that even a *feeling* may sometimes be worth recording in those who have spent a life in the study of Greek. Two words especially excite my suspicion as mere inventions; μύνησι (Od. XXI. 111), and λάων (*ib.* XIX. 229). The first is explained by Hesychius προφάσεσιν, 'excuses.' I cannot doubt that it was coined from a false notion that ἀμύνειν meant "to act promptly and without excuse," in reference to a well-known Attic proverb, σκῆψιν ἀγὼν οὐ δέχεται. As for λάων, and λάε, which some interpret 'seeing' and some 'holding,' and which Donaldson (New Crat. § 451) refers to a common root λαβ or λαϝ, I have as little doubt that it was in like manner supposed to be the verb from which ἀλαὸς and its derivative ἀλάωσεν had been formed.

Among *late* (Alexandrine?) forms I should place such participles as συνοχωκὼς, ᾐσχυμμένος, ῥερυπωμένος, μεμορυχμένος,

[1] This suggestion may seem rather startling to some. But the strange word εἴρερος in Od. VIII. 529 seems to be a *Magna Graecia* form of the Latin *servitus*. A similar word is φέρτρον, *feretrum*, XVIII. 236, with which compare φέρτε in IX. 171, and συμφερτὴ in XIII. 237. So ἄναλτος resembles *altus* (*alo*), μήδεα φωτὸς are *viri media*, &c.

such medial aorists as *χήρατο, ἥσατο, μήνατο,* and the oft-used *εἵσατο=ἧει*: the perfects *ἤρικε* (XVII. 295), *κεκοπὼς* (XIII. 60)[1], the strange compound *καταδημοβορῆσαι* (XVIII. 301, where the *κατὰ* has the peculiar Attic sense that it bears in *καταπροδοῦναι, καταχαρίζεσθαι,* &c.), *σκέπτεο* (XVII. 652), *ἴστω μὴ ἐγὼ ἐπενεῖκαι* (XIX. 261), *ὀμνύναι πρὸς δαίμονος* (XIX. 188), *πεφεύγοι* (XXII. 609), *ἐπιδοῦναι προῖκα,* a Demosthenic law-phrase, IX. 148, *τεθαρσήκασι* (IX. 420), *τετιμήμεσθα* (XII. 310), *ὑπὸ κρασὶν* (X. 152), *συνώμεθα* (XIII. 381), *ξύνετο* (Od. IV. 76), *ἐπιθεῖναι θωὴν* (Od. II. 192), *ἐθελοντῆρες* (*ib.* 292), *ἀνάξασθαι=ἄνακτα γενέσθαι* (Od. III. 245), *μυθεῖσθαι ἀπὸ* (*ἄπο*) *σκοποῦ* (a Platonic phrase, Od. XI. 344), *ἁμόθεν,* a Platonic adverb, futures like *εἰδήσω* and *ἰδήσω,* which follow no sound principle of formation, *εἴκειν,* a secondary present formed from the Attic *εἰκὼς* and *προσεικέναι, λυκάβας,* 'a year,' Od. XIV. 161; *ἀβάκησαν,* Od. IV. 249; *φάεα,* 'eyes,' Od. XVI. 15; *δείπνηστος,* 'dinner-time,' *ib.* XVII. 170; *σκηρίπτεσθαι, ib.* 196; *δεδειπνήκειν, ib.* 359; *προσώπατα, ib.* XVIII. 192; *λελῦντο,* for *λελυμένα εἴη, ib.* 238; *ἐκπεπαταγμένος, ib.* 327; *δακρυπλώειν,* Od. XIX. 122; *κλοτοπεύειν, κατ' ἄντηστιν, ib.* XX. 387; *ἐξεσίην ἐλθεῖν, ib.* XXI. 20; *ὄγκιον, ib.* 61; *μύνησι, ib.* 111; *μυχοίτατος, ib.* 146; *ἀκομιστίη, ib.* 284; *ἐσίδεσκεν,* XXIII. 94; *ἀγνώσασκε, ib.* 95; *εὔληρα, lora,* Il. XXIII. 481; *χρόμαδος, ib.* 688; *ἔνδινα, viscera, ib.* 806; *ἥμων,* 'skilled in shooting,' *ib.* 886; *ἐντυπὰς, ib.* XXIV. 163; *φέρτρον, feretrum, ib.* XVIII. 236; *κελευτιόων, ib.* XIII. 125; *υἱωνὸς, ib.* 207; *συμφερτὴ, ib.* 237; *ἔθρεξα,* as an aorist of *τρέχω, ib.* 409; *ἀμενηνοῦν,* 'to weaken,' *ib.* 562; *σιφλοῦν,* 'to blast with disease,' XIV. 142. Such words as *ἀηθέσσειν* for *ἀήθης εἶναι, ἀπινύσσειν, ἀελπτεῖν, νηκουστεῖν, ἀτέοντες,* (if genuine at all as poetic words,) seem to reflect the age and language of Herodotus. Such compounds too as *ἀφαμαρτοεπὴς, ἀλλοπρόσαλλος, ὑφηνίοχος, ἀμετροεπὴς, ἀπροτίμαστος,* can hardly belong to the genuine early epic. Among false (pseudo-archaic) words I should (of course, as a suggestion only) be inclined to enumerate the following: *ἀπητίμησε* (XIII. 113), *ἀποτμήγειν, βλάβειν, τέμειν, ἰείη* and *ἴμμεναι* (*ἰέναι*), *ἔοις* for *εἴης* (IX. 284), *ἀφρεῖν=ἀφρίζειν*

[1] Some may call this a reduplicated aorist, as Plato has *κέκοφα* for the perfect of *κόπτω.*

(XI. 282), such questionable Ionicisms as *δέχαται, ἔρχαται, ἔρχατο, ἐπώχατο* (XII. 340), for plural forms[1], and such forms of epic aorists as *ὄρθαι, βλεῖο, πέρθαι, πάλτο, δέγμενος = προσδοκῶν* (IX. 148); *ἄξοντο* (al. *ἄξαντο*) (VIII. 545), *ἔσσυμαι* (XIII. 79), *ἀκήδεσεν* (XIV. 427), *κλήρῳ πεπαλάσθαι, ἔελσαι, πελέσκεο, ψυχὴν ἐκάπυσσεν, ὑπεμνήμυκε, ἐελμένος, ἔεστο, ὅτινας* and *ὅτινα* for *οὕς τινας, ἅ τινα, ὅου* for *οὗ, ὅ τις* for *ὅς τις, θάρσῠνος* (formed, perhaps, like *γηθοσῠνος*, but questionable by the side of *θαρσῡνω*), *νευίη = νεότης*, XXII. 604), *πεφιδέσθαι, λελαβέσθαι, τεταρπέσθαι, ἔλπειν*, 'to cause to hope' (Od. II. 91), *εἴρω = φημὶ* (Od. II. 162), *κύθε* (aor. of *κεύθω*, Od. III. 16), *κεκύθωσι* (Od. VI. 303), *τετυκεῖν* (*ib.* XV. 77), *ἐέργνυ* (*ib.* X. 238), *ἀφᾶν, ὑλᾶν*, and *ὑφᾶν* for *ἅπτειν, ὑλάκτειν* and *ὑφαίνειν, ἐβιώσαο* (*vivere fecisti*, Od. VIII. 468), *ὀϊζύσας, γενέσκετο, ἠείδη = ἤδει, εἵματα εἶται, καταείνυσαν* (Il. XXIII. 135), *τετευχὼς factus* (Od. XII. 423), *ἐρχατόωντο ib.* XIV. 15, *ἄργματα = ἀπάργματα* or *ἀπαρχαὶ ib.* 446; *δεδάασθαι, ib.* XVI. 316; *καστορνῦσα, ib.* XVII. 32; *οὐδὸν* for *ὀδὸν, ib.* 196; *ἀπόθεστος* for *ἀπόθετος* (like *ἀδάμαστος, ἀνούταστος*), *ib.* 296; *βλήεται, ib.* 472; *ἐρέωμαι, ib.* 509; *πεπαθυίῃ, ib.* 555; *ἀσσοτέρω, ib.* 572; *ἄχομαι, vexor*, Od. XVIII. 256; *οὐκ ἀθεεὶ, non sine deo, ib.* 353; *προβλωσκέμεν (= προμολεῖν), ib.* 25; *εἶσθα ibis, ib.* 69; *κέκασσαι, ib.* 82; *κέσκετο* for *ἔκειτο, ib.* XXI. 41; *εἴρυτο φάσγανον = εἴρυσε, ib.* XXII. 90; *τετευχῆσθαι armatos esse, ib.* 104; *κτέωμεν = κτείνωμεν, ib.* 216; *ἀλύσκανε, ib.* 350; *θήιον = θέειον, ib.* 493; *φθέωσι, ib.* XXIV. 437; *ἀφάρτερος*, Il. XXIII. 311; *παροίτερος, ib.* 459; *πρόσσοθεν, ib.* 533; *ἰδέω χάριν* (as if from *εἰδέναι*), Il. XIV. 235.

I have said,—and this is an argument of primary weight and importance,—that a remarkable characteristic of the Iliad and the Odyssey is the frequent allusion in brief to incidents fully treated of in Pindar and the Tragics. If my view is true, our Homer was compiled from the older sources which they used; if the commonly alleged date of our Homer be maintained, then all these tragic stories are *later developments of a*

[1] Such terminations as *οἰχοίατο* and *τιθέασι* are legitimate, the *ν* of the plural being represented by *α*. But could any Greek have used *τύπταται, οἴχαται*, or *τύπτατο, οἴχατο*? This form could only be explained by the omission of the vocalising syllable between the termination and the root.

few verbal hints. This latter view, maintained as it is by K. O. Müller and others, I hold to be utterly improbable, and indeed, wholly inconceivable. Was the famous story of the arms given by the gods to Peleus based on the bare mention of them in Il. XVII. 195, XVIII. 84? Was the acquaintance of Achilles with Patroclus at the house of Menoetius, and the appointment of the youth on the chief's military staff (Pind. Ol. IX. 70—80), an expansion of XVIII. 325, or XXIII. 85? Were the raids and adventures of Achilles in the Troad (which we know were celebrated in the *Cypria*), or his earlier life in the island of Scyros[1], or his education by Chiron the Centaur, based on Il. XI. 832, or 625, or XIX. 296, 326, or XX. 92, 192? Were the capture of Troy by Hercules, the marriage of Peleus and Thetis, the judgment of Paris, the story of the Wooden Horse, and many other themes most popular with the tragic writers, and most frequently represented by the vase-painters, developments of the few words in Il. XX. 145, XXIV. 29 and 62? The arrival of the Amazons (which we know was a "Cyclic" subject) is mentioned in a single verse in III. 189. The building of the fleet and the carrying off of Helen (I. 71, III. 444, VI. 292), the embassy of Ulysses to Troy to negotiate for her restoration (III. 206); the very frequent mention of the earlier exploits of Achilles in the Troad (VI. 415, IX. 188, 328, 668, XI. 625,)—all these hints about well-known and hackneyed stories clearly imply a dismissal of them in brief; and it seems most perverse in K. O. Müller to argue (p. 69) that "the Cypria referred altogether to the Iliad for the completion of its own subject." I maintain that "the Iliad refers altogether to the Cypria (and the kindred early poems) for the subjects which furnished matter for these allusions." How indeed, except on the theory of compilation from the poems popular in the Periclean age, shall we account for clear references even to the *Thebaid*, in Il. XXIII. 346 and 678, also in IV. 377, V. 804, and in Od. XI. 271? In a word, was the major taken from the minor, or the minor from the major, —the *allusion* from the full and popularized legend? Common sense must give the verdict in favour of the latter view.

[1] Eur. Andr. 210. Soph. Phil. 970.

Knowing, as we do, from Proclus, the general summary of the subjects treated of in the early poems attributed to Arctinus, Stasinus, Lesches, and Agias, we are able to compare with them most carefully (and this is what I claim in the study of very many years to have done) the accounts of Pindar, the dramatic writers, the vase-painters and our Homeric texts. And I must state, that not a shadow of doubt now remains on my mind, that our texts are a compilation from the very same sources which they possessed, and that the proofs that they possessed or knew of our texts at all, are very few and altogether unsatisfactory. This is the more remarkable, from the contrasted certainty with which we can identify our texts with the citations and allusions (and they are extremely numerous) in Plato and Aristotle. With a few exceptions, they are all found in our Homer.

When therefore we read in K. O. Müller's History of Greek Literature, passages like the following, we are inclined to express astonishment that a view which appears so far-fetched, and even so impossible to some, should still commend itself to others, and those scholars of learning and good sense, if not men of independent research.

"It is credible" (he says, p. 64, chap. vi.) "that they" (the Homeridae) "were Homeric rhapsodists by profession, to whom the constant recitation of the ancient Homeric poems" (he means the Iliad and the Odyssey) "would naturally suggest the notion of continuing them by essays of their own in a similar tone." "From a close comparison" (he adds) "of the extracts and fragments of these poems, which we still possess, it is evident that their authors had before them copies (!) of the Iliad and Odyssey in their complete form." Again, "notwithstanding the close connection which they made between their own productions and the Homeric poems, notwithstanding they often *built upon particular allusions* in Homer, and formed from them *long passages of their own poems*, still their manner of treating and viewing mythical subjects differs so widely from that of Homer, as of itself to be a sufficient proof that the Homeric poems *were no longer in progress of development at the time of the Cyclic poets*, but had, on the whole, attained

a settled form, to which no addition of importance was afterwards made[1]."

One may fairly grant that the Odyssey existed as a separate poem in the Periclean age[2]; but that does not show its present form to be as old even as that. On the contrary, in the very interesting epitome of that poem given in Cassandra's prophecy, Eurip. Troad. 431—43, there is a remarkable omission of Calypso[3]; and though the last verse seems to refer to the suitors, and perhaps to IX. 535 of the Odyssey, nothing is said of their death by the hand of Ulysses.

δύστηνος, οὐκ οἶδ' οἷά νιν μένει παθεῖν·
ὡς χρυσὸς αὐτῷ τἀμὰ καὶ Φρυγῶν κακὰ
δόξει ποτ' εἶναι· δέκα γὰρ ἐκπλήσας ἔτη
πρὸς τοῖσιν ἐνθάδ', ἵξεται μόνος πάτραν,
οὗ δὴ στενὸν δίαυλον ᾤκισται πέτρας
δεινὴ Χάρυβδις, ὠμόφρων τ' ἐπιστάτης
Κύκλωψ, Λιγυστίς θ' ἡ συῶν μορφώτρια
Κίρκη, θαλάσσης θ' ἁλμυρᾶς ναυάγια,
λωτοῦ τ' ἔρωτες, Ἡλίου θ' ἁγναὶ βόες,
αἳ σάρκα φωνήεσσαν ἤσουσίν ποτε,
πικρὰν Ὀδυσσεῖ γῆρυν· ὡς δὲ συντέμω,
ζῶν εἶσ' ἐς Ἅιδην, κἀκφυγὼν λίμνης ὕδωρ
κάκ' ἐν δόμοισι μυρί' εὑρήσει μολών.

[1] p. 65. The great mistake in the reasoning here is, that the author confounds the fixedness of *tradition* with the fixedness of certain poems, the antiquity of which he assumes. The whole argument is based on a *petitio principii*.

[2] Sophocles wrote a play entitled *Ναυσικάα*, and Thucydides mentions the dangerous current of Charybdis, IV. 24, the celebrity of the Phaeacians in the naval art (I. 25), the *τέμενος* of the hero Alcinous (III. 70), and the Cyclopes and Laestrygones as indigenous inhabitants of Sicily (VI. 2), whereas in the Odyssey Laestrygonia is placed in the west of Italy.

[3] She is first mentioned by name, I think, by Aristotle; the passage in Hes. Theog. fin. being clearly spurious, and of late date. (But perhaps it is fair to lay some stress on *ὡς δὲ συντέμω* in the passage of Euripides.) The name Καλυψώ, "the Coverer," her residence in the "dark isle," *νήσῳ ἐν ὠγυγίῃ* (Od. XXIII. 333, the Celtic *ogof* and *goaf*), may be thought genuine names of the mythological period, descriptive of the supposed effect of sorcery and witchcraft on the sun and moon. Even in the time of Horace, a witch could "turn the moon into blood." Sat. I. 8, 35.

In the same manner we may, to a certain extent, bring the Iliad, as we have it, to the test supplied by Thucydides. We shall find that in his time the making of the Grecian camp was one of the first operations of the war[1], whereas in our text it is narrated as a work of the ninth year, in Book VII. We shall find him referring to the oaths of the suitors[2] as one of the reasons of the expedition; an event recorded in Euripides (Iph. Aul. init.), but not alluded to in our Iliad. We shall be forced, I think, to conclude, that he had a full account of the raids in the Troad (so often *alluded to*, but never described, in the Iliad), and to other more peaceful means adopted for the maintenance of the Grecian troops during the early years of the war[3]. We shall observe that he quotes a verse from the second book under a title which makes it at least probable that in his time Σκήπτρου παράδοσις was, like Διομήδεος ἀριστείη in Herod. II. 116, the title of a scene or separate portion of the action that had been adapted from the Cypria. It is remarkable that the first book of the Iliad contains many marks of νεωτερισμὸς[4], and so far as I know, it is nowhere alluded to in any passage of Pindar or the Tragics[5]. For the petition of Thetis, I. 505, that Zeus will do honour to her son, which is again mentioned in XV. 76, in a way that shows design and continuity in the plan of the Iliad, was very probably altered from the older, because more strictly mythological, account of the λιταὶ in Pindar. The sea, the mother of the sun, wishes the sun to be transferred in glory to the bright western sky; in human language, Thetis beseeches Zeus that Achilles may be brought an immortal hero to the isles of the blest[6]. The whole point of the petition in Il. I. is, that the

[1] I. 11.

[2] I. 9.

[3] I. 11, *φαίνονται δ' οὐδ' ἐνταῦθα πάσῃ τῇ δυνάμει χρησάμενοι, ἀλλὰ πρὸς γεωργίαν τῆς Χερσονήσου τραπόμενοι καὶ λῃστείαν τῆς τροφῆς ἀπορίᾳ.* The cultivation of land in the Chersonese must have been mentioned in the 'Troica' in the time of the historian.

[4] As *εὖ δ' οἴκαδ' ἰκέσθαι*, I. 19, *τὸ κρήγυον εἶπας*, 106, *ἐπιτηδὲς*, 142, *εἰδήσειν*, 546, *νῆα μέλαιναν ἐρύσσομεν* (without *F*), 141.

[5] In Ar. Nub. 1056 there is a citation of *λιγὺς Ιυλίων ἀγορητὴς*, perhaps from Il. I. 248.

[6] Ol. II. 80. The *Ἀχίλλειος δρόμος*, or *λευκὴ ἀκτὴ* near the Euxine, was the sun's glorified apparition in the

Greeks may find that they cannot afford to alienate Achilles, or hope to succeed without his prowess.

The original Iliad may, as has often been suggested, have been an *Achilleid;* certain it seems, that as we have it, it carries large and palpable accretions, made up from the old Achaean stories about Hercules, the Aetolians and Epeians, in books IX. and XI., besides endless episodes of the long and sometimes monotonous fights between the heroes on both sides. The *ἀναγνώρισις* of Glaucus and Diomede (book VI.), the *Doloneia* (book X.), and probably the *Διὸς ἀπάτη* (book XIV.), seem to me not older than the fifth century B.C. The tenth book, indeed, was regarded as interpolated even by the Alexandrine critics. The *μάχη παραποτάμιος* (book XXI.) is not only ignored by writers of any antiquity, but it is founded in part on an incident which we happen to know was narrated in the Cypria, the capture of Lycaon by Achilles[1] (35 seqq.).

The death of Hector is certainly ancient, and it probably formed a genuine part of the poem in its oldest form[2]. But in reconstructing these many and often incongruous materials into one continuous poem in a dramatised form, in the Periclean or "writing" age, it seems to me nearly certain that a great deal that was very modern was worked up with much that was very ancient. No person, by the exercise of the most subtle critical skill, can possibly *demonstrate* precisely what is genuine and what is spurious, or separate with absolute certainty the really archaic from the pseudo-archaic additions. But to maintain that the Iliad, and perhaps too the Odyssey, have come down to us from B.C. 850, or even that Pisistratus introduced Homer, as we have him, three centuries later into Athens, is so con-

far east, where he is compared to a giant running his race.

[1] To the original story, as I suppose, rather than to that in the Iliad, may be referred a vase-painting supposed to represent Lycaon and Achilles, which Dr Hayman endeavours to force into his service, Pref. to Vol. II. of his "Odyssey."

[2] Such verses as Il. VI. 47, *Ἕκτορ υἱὲ Πριάμοιο*, and XXII. 363, *λιποῦσ' ἀνδροτῆτα καὶ ἥβην* (if this, and not *ἀδροτῆτα*, be the genuine reading), and *τέως* and *ἕως* pronounced *τεῖος* and *εἶος*, point to a very archaic kind of verse, if not to differences in the forms of words in a remote age. Such an aorist as *γέντο*, which is often used for *ἕλετο*, though it may be only dialectic, is probably a very old form.

trary to the conclusions I have reached from a very special study of Homer for a number of years, that I despair of ever being brought to see the probability of it.

Not one of the arguments here brought forward against the antiquity of the Homeric texts has been noticed by Mr Grote, though he has written at great length and with much learning and research upon the question, in Chaps. XX. and XXI. of Part I. of his history. Although he believes the Iliad to differ from the Odyssey in this, that the former is a composite, the latter one a continuous and uniform poem, he still assigns to them both,—apparently on a general opinion of the archaic state of society represented,—the commonly received date. "To place the Iliad and Odyssey at some periods between 850 B.C. and 776 B.C., appears to me more probable than any other date," he says; and again, "On the whole, the balance of probabilities seems in favour of distinct authorship of the two poems, but the same age, and that age a very early one, anterior to the first Olympiad[1]." Nevertheless, he is evidently perplexed by the difficulty of the preservation intact of such long poems unwritten; and he labours to show (what never can be shown, and what is opposed to all that we know on the subject) that they "first began to be written before the time of Solon." Aware too that MSS. imply readers of them, he does not scruple to speak of the "probability" of the formation of a narrow reading class as early as B.C. 660 to 630[2]—a mere guess, which I must venture to call a clumsy expedient invented to get rid of a difficulty. Misinterpreting the well-known statement of Diogenes Laertius (I. 57)—in itself too late to be of much value as evidence—that Solon ordered the poems of Homer to be recited ἐξ ὑποβολῆς, to mean "by prompting," he goes on to argue that "a prompter implies the existence of MSS. professedly complete[3]." He goes so far as to say that "the first positive ground which authorizes us to presume the

[1] Vol. II. pp. 135, 204, ed. 12mo.

[2] p. 149.

[3] P. 154. The words ἐξ ὑποβολῆς, 'taking up one part after another,' are rightly explained, and very clearly too, by Diogenes himself, οἷον ὅπου ὁ πρῶτος ἔληξεν, ἐκεῖθεν ἄρχεσθαι τὸν ἀρχόμενον,—where it is evident that τὸν ἐχόμενον should be read.

existence of a MS. of Homer, is in the famous ordinance of Solon with regard to the rhapsodes at the Panathenaea; but for what length of time, previously, MSS. had existed, we are unable to say[1]." Thus he is led "to reject the idea of compilation by Peisistratus, and to refer the present state of the Iliad (!) to a period more than two centuries earlier[2]." And with these preconceived convictions—which, I contend, are totally incapable of any proof, and are in themselves opposed to all reasonable probability—but without the least critical inquiry into the phenomena of the Homeric language, he makes the following summary, which I quote at length, because it seems to me a singular instance of a *petitio principii* throughout, in a mind eminently logical and usually distinguished for the calm and impartial weighing of historic evidence.

"The whole tenor of the poems themselves confirms what is here remarked" (viz. that any changes in them must be earlier than Peisistratus or Solon). "There is nothing either in the Iliad or Odyssey which savours of *modernism*, applying that term to the age of Peisistratus; nothing which brings to our view the alterations, brought about by two centuries, in the Greek language, the coined money, the habits of writing and reading, the despotisms and republican governments, the close military array, the improved construction of ships. Everything in the two great Homeric poems, both in substance and in language, belongs to an age two or three centuries earlier than Peisistratus. Indeed even the interpolations (or those passages which on the best grounds are pronounced to be such) betray no trace of the sixth century before Christ, and may well have been heard by Archilochus and Kallinus—in some cases even by Arktinus and Hesiod—as genuine Homeric matter. As far as the evidences on the case, as well internal as external, enable us to judge, we seem warranted in believing that the Iliad and Odyssey were recited substantially as they now stand (always allowing for partial divergences of text and interpolations) in 776 B.C., our first trustworthy mark of Grecian time[3]."

I have elsewhere remarked, that whatever may be the value of the traditions about Solon and Peisistratus in their

[1] p. 144. [2] p. 161. [3] p. 160.

relation to the Homeric poems, there is not a particle of evidence that the two isolated poems that we have learned to call "Homer", or either of them, were meant, since all epics on the *Troica* were alike attributed in ancient times to that author. But Mr Grote makes one important admission, in which I fully agree with him. "If," he says, "the Iliad was made up, as Wolf believes, from ballads composed by different authors, in the time of Peisistratus, then he or his associates must have done more than transpose and interpolate here and there; *he must have gone far to rewrite the whole poem*[1]." And again, "the transposition from smaller songs to a combined and continuous poem forms an epoch in the intellectual history of the nation. Nor is it to be imagined that the materials pass unaltered from their first state of isolation into their second state of combination. They must of necessity *be recast, and undergo an adapting process,* in which the genius of the organising poet consists[2]."

I believe that the most reasonable account that can be conjecturally given of the origin of the Iliad is the following. It is one which fully and easily satisfies every difficulty that can fairly be raised: and that, I think, is saying a good deal.

Some time in the fifth century before the Christian era—probably in the time of Pericles—a desire arose to commit to writing the hitherto oral and ever fluctuating literature which passed under the name of Homer[3]. Such portions of a vast subject as related mainly to the adventures of the chief hero, Achilles, were taken down from the mouths of rhapsodists by some unrecorded person—possibly, as I have hinted, none other than the reputed "editor", Antimachus of Colophon. These rhapsodists, living in such late times, had so remodelled and interpolated their "parts", that a great deal of modern diction had crept in, along with the general use of the much older vocabulary. Some of the episodes, I am convinced, were hardly if at all older than their own generation, although, of course, they were represented as handed down *verbatim* from the remote antiquity in which Mr Grote and others have avowed their belief. Well, then, these episodes about Achilles, Hector,

[1] p. 173. [2] p. 175. [3] Wolf, Proleg. § 36.

Diomede, and others, were written down, under the very inappropriate title of "The Iliad", with such continuity and uniformity, and with such skill in selection, as the genius of the transcriber could adopt, and thus became the first *written* Homer[1]. And thus we understand the constant *allusions* to the older stories which the tragics knew and used. We can understand too how the rhapsode who contributed the European (not Asiatic) poem of the "Catalogue", or our second Book, took it from the Κύπρια ἔπη, which *he*, like his contemporaries, as affirmed by Herodotus, attributed to "Homer".

The mass of Troica excluded from the Iliad did not cease to exist. It, in turn, became a written literature in the "Cyclus", in Alexandrine times; but as "Homer" had then got to mean the Iliad and the Odyssey, the names of other poets, real or fictitious—the anonymous οἱ παλαιοὶ τῶν ποιητῶν, it may be, of Thucydides,—were assigned to them. Ultimately, as in the time of Horace, the "scriptor cyclicus" had become a term of disparagement, simply because "the divine Homer" had bequeathed nothing but a necessary inferiority to all other epic bards.

[1] That it underwent further revision under Zenodotus and the Alexandrine critics, is shown by F. A. Wolf, Proleg. § 43. He does not hesitate to say (*ib.* § 39) that "accuratior forma Homeri prodiit tandem e Museis Alexandrinis."

F. A. PALEY.

NOTE ON ISAIAH VIII.—X.

THE concluding verses of the eighth[1] chapter of Isaiah have caused the greatest perplexity to commentators, since they contain a description of hopeless gloom and distress from which it is apparently not easy to pass by a natural transition to the light and triumph which characterise the opening of chapter ix. Attempts have accordingly been made to extract from the actual verses in question an intimation of the coming change; but I doubt whether any such internal point of transition can be found without violence to their structure and rhythm, unless we agree to introduce some sort of alteration into the text itself. The expedient of emendation is indeed justifiable as a last resource, but, it may be asked, have all other methods of solving the present difficulty been fairly tried? As a practical answer I shall propose for consideration a view which occurred to me several years ago as a result of my own examination of the passage, but for which[2] I am now able (1873) to quote no less an authority than Ibn Ezra[3], by whom it is proposed with apparent confidence and without the least show of hesitation.

The main point is to determine the relation of the disputed verses to the whole passage:

viii. 5—8. The LORD spake also unto me again, saying, Forasmuch as this people refuseth the waters of Shiloah that go softly, and rejoice in Rezin and Remaliah's son; now therefore, behold, the Lord bringeth up upon them the waters of the river, strong and many, even the king of Assyria, and all his

[1] Verses 21, 2, which according to the A. V. conclude the chapter.

[2] But in part only. See p. 159.

[3] Cf. also the Targum (p. 153).

glory: and he shall come up over all his channels, and go over all his banks: *And he shall pass through Judah; he shall overflow and go over,* he shall reach even to the neck; and the stretching out of his wings shall fill the breadth of thy land, O Immanuel.

viii. 9—20. Associate yourselves, O ye people, and ye shall be broken in pieces; and give ear, all ye of far countries: gird yourselves, and ye shall be broken in pieces; gird yourselves, and ye shall be broken in pieces. Take counsel together, and it shall come to nought; speak the word, and it shall not stand: for God is with us. For the LORD spake thus to me with a strong hand, and instructed me that I should not walk in the way of this people, saying, Say ye not, A confederacy, to all them to whom this people shall say, A confederacy; neither fear ye their fear, nor be afraid. Sanctify the LORD of hosts himself; and let him be your fear, and let him be your dread. And he shall be for a sanctuary; but for a stone of stumbling and for a rock of offence to both the houses of Israel, for a gin and for a snare to the inhabitants of Jerusalem. And many among them shall stumble, and fall, and be broken, and be snared, and be taken. Bind up the testimony, seal the law among my disciples. And I will wait upon the LORD, that hideth his face from the house of Jacob, and I will look for him. Behold, I and the children whom the LORD hath given me are for signs and for wonders in Israel from the LORD of hosts, which dwelleth in mount Zion. And when they shall say unto you, Seek unto them that have familiar spirits, and unto wizards that peep, and that mutter: should not a people seek unto their God? for the living to the dead? To the law and to the testimony: if they speak not according to this word, it is because there is no light in them.

viii. 21, 22. *And they shall pass through it,* hardly bestead and hungry: and it shall come to pass, that when they shall be hungry, they shall fret themselves, and curse their king and their God, and look upward. And they shall look unto the earth; and behold trouble and darkness, dimness of anguish; and they shall be driven to darkness.

ix. 1—7. Nevertheless the dimness shall not be such as

was in her vexation, when at the first he lightly afflicted the land of Zebulun and the land of Naphtali, and afterward did more grievously afflict her by the way of the sea, beyond Jordan, in Galilee of the nations. The people that walked in darkness have seen a great light: they that dwell in the land of the shadow of death, upon them hath the light shined. Thou hast multiplied the nation, and not increased the joy: they joy before thee according to the joy in harvest, and as men rejoice when they divide the spoil. For thou hast broken the yoke of his burden, and the staff of his shoulder, the rod of his oppressor, as in the day of Midian. For every battle of the warrior is with confused noise, and garments rolled in blood; but this shall be with burning and fuel of fire. For unto us a child is born, unto us a son is given: and the government shall be upon his shoulder: and his name shall be called Wonderful, Counsellor, The mighty God, The everlasting Father, The Prince of Peace. Of the increase of his government and peace there shall be no end, upon the throne of David, and upon his kingdom, to order it, and to establish it with judgment and with justice from henceforth even for ever. The zeal of the LORD of hosts will perform this.

For the sake of simplicity I shall first state the proposed interpretation, and afterwards consider a little in detail the ordinary interpretation and its difficulties.

The general meaning of the paragraph viii. 5—8 is plain. It is only needful (1) to call particular attention to the words italicised in ver. 8, corresponding to the Hebrew: וְחָלַף בִּיהוּדָה שָׁטַף וְעָבַר, and herein especially to the two words (*a*) ביהודה, (*b*) ועבר, and (2) to bear in mind that the subject of עבר is מלך אשור, *the King of Assyria,* or כל כבודו, *all his glory.*

The paragraph viii. 9—20 contains many difficulties in detail which need not here be considered. Suffice it to say that in general it is of the nature of a digression—a going off at the words Immanu El, *God with us.* The enemy shall sweep the whole place like a flood: the stretch of his wings shall be the full breadth of thy land, *O God with us.* But that

name is a tower of strength. Though the nations take counsel together it shall come to nought, for *God is with us.* Comp. Mic. iii. 11. The prophet goes on to reprove the people for want of trust in God: "Let him be your fear, and let him be your dread."

The verses viii. 21, 22, referring back to ver. 5—8, predict the fall of Sennacherib. It had been said that "*he shall pass through Judah*" (ver. 8); but "*they shall pass through it* hardly bestead and hungry" (ver. 21). They shall curse their hard fate and be hurled headlong in the gloom. The words italicised do not exaggerate the degree of closeness with which verses 8, 21 correspond, for although the expression *pass through* in the one case represents חלף and in the other עבר, yet the word עבר itself occurs, as we have seen, in verse 8, where it is rendered *go over.* Thus the English Version fairly represents the degree of correspondence between the two paragraphs, or rather understates it, since instead of "*they* shall pass through it" (ver. 21) we should rather read in the singular, *he* shall pass through it:

וְעָבַר בָּהּ נִקְשֶׁה וְרָעֵב׃

the subject being the same as in the ועבר of ver. 8.

The paragraph ix. 1—7 describes the consequent triumph of the oppressed: the sun of Asshur has set, but "The people that walked in darkness have seen a great light...For thou hast broken the yoke of his burden, and the staff of his shoulder, the rod of his oppressor, as in the day of Midian."

Closer examination confirms the view that the destruction of the Assyrians is described in the verses:

וְעָבַר בָּהּ נִקְשֶׁה וְרָעֵב וְהָיָה כִּי יִרְעַב וְהִתְקַצַּף וְקִלֵּל
בְּמַלְכּוֹ וּבֵאלֹהָיו וּפָנָה לְמַעְלָה וְאֶל אֶרֶץ יַבִּיט וְהִנֵּה צָרָה
וַחֲשֵׁכָה מְעוּף צוֹקָה וַאֲפֵלָה מְנֻדָּח׃

ועבר בה] These words are by Rashi referred back to viii. 11: *and instructed me that I should not walk in the way of this people;* their "way" being to forsake God and seek help from Egypt.

In like manner the מצורת דוד refers בה to the practice of necromancy.

The ביאור מהגר"א understands that, "they all of them know this '*word*' and *transgress it.*"

But all such renderings are confessedly forced. None of them are so simple as those which refer בה to *the land.* Compare R.D.K. and Ibn Ezra, who will be quoted below. Compare also the Targum ויעדי תקלא בארעא. But we should expect that *the land* would be explicitly mentioned somewhere. Accordingly it has been suggested that the בה has a proleptic reference to ver. 22: "and they shall look *unto the earth.*" But, to waive other obvious objections, it is probable that this ארץ does not mean the *country,* but rather *the ground* in contrast with למעלה, thus, whether they look *upward* or *downward,* distress shall meet them on every side. If however ver. 21, 22 be read in connexion with ver. 8, everything becomes clear: בה necessarily refers to *Judah,* the *land* of Immanuel: עבר is no longer without a subject, and the most appropriate meaning is assigned to עבר, which here applies better to foreigners who sweep across and over the land, than to inhabitants of the land who are regarded as cooped up within its limits. For this use of the word compare *inter alia:* עבר במגרון (x. 27); שוט שוטף כי יעבר (xxviii. 15, 18, 19; Dan. xi. 10); Lev. xxi. 6; Num. xxi. 21; Ezek. xv. 17.

The collocation of ver. 8, 21, appears not less natural in the Targum:

ויעדי בארעא דבית יהודה כנחל מגבר עד ירושלם
ימטי ויהי עם משריתיה מלא פתאי ארעך עמנו אל:

* * * * * *

ויעדי תקלא בארעא ויהי עקא וכפן ויהי ארי יחזי כפן
וסיגוף וילוט ויזבי שום פתכריה וטעותיה ויתפני לעילא
למבעי פורקן בתר דתתחתם גזירתא ולא יכול: וסעיד
מיתבי ארעא יבעי ארי ייתי עלוהי עקא כפן ושלהוי עקא
קבל ובדור:

נקשה ורעב] These expressions may be taken literally. There is indeed a paronomasia רָעֵב, עָבַר, but this does not prevent us from taking רעב to mean literally *hungry*. It is upon רעב thus rendered that Ibn Ezra rests his interpretation.

"Some say, Lo days are coming when the passer through the land of Judah, being himself of Judah, shall be hard bestead and hungry because of the host of Sennacherib, and when he sees that his king and his idol cannot save him then he will turn upward to pray to the God of heaven. But in my opinion it refers to the host of Sennacherib which will pass through the land of Judah, it being evident that a great host would be hungry. *His king*, is the king of Assyria, and when he turns upward or downward he will see everything darkness."

The Targum is favourable to the literal rendering. It represents the passer through the land as famished and begging food from its inhabitants. R. D. K. speaks clearly to the same effect. Having said that בה means בארץ, referring to בהר ציון (ver. 18), he observes that the passer through the land will be קשה יום (Job xxx. 25) and hungry, not finding anything in the land to eat because of its devastation by war.

וקלל במלכו ובאלהיו] This has been compared with Rev. xvi. 11 : *καὶ ἐβλασφήμησαν τὸν θεὸν τοῦ οὐρανοῦ ἐκ τῶν πόνων αὐτῶν*, but it seems best, with the Targum, &c., to understand by Elohim *an idol*, or *idols*. Assuming this, I think it rather more natural that "*his* gods" should mean the gods of the Assyrian than that it should mean "the gods" of the Jews. As regards the construction, elsewhere we find, אלהים לא תקלל (Exod. xxii. 27), מלך אל תקלל (Eccl. x. 20), where קלל is followed by a simple accusative. It is followed by ב and means to curse *by* in the passages: ויקלל הפלשתי את דוד באלהיו (1 Sam. xvii. 43), and ויקללם בשם יי (2 Kings ii. 24).

ופנה למעלה ואל ארץ יביט] Whether he looks upward or downward he sees only darkness: "Terrors shall make him afraid *on every side*" (Job xviii. 11). Compare Eccl. xii. 5.

מעוף צוקה ואפלה מנדח] This difficult clause is variously

interpreted. Some make מנדח agree with מעוף, and understand that the darkness is either (1) scattered or spread over the land, or (2) dispelled. But מנדח is certainly most applicable to the *person* who is the subject of the preceding clause. Many authorities understand that "he is driven *into* darkness," but we may take מנדח absolutely and understand that, being in darkness, he stumbles and falls headlong, in accordance with Jer. xxiii. 12.

Chapter IX.

כי לא מועף וג׳] *For* or *but* &c. After the fall of the oppressor the recovery of the oppressed is described. *They* are no longer in a land of צלמות; it is *he* who has fallen in the darkness. This to a certain extent simplifies the emphatic לו (Targ. לדון) the קרי of ver. 2. But whether we adopt the קרי, or the כתיב taken relatively, or read הרבית הגיל with Professor Selwyn[1], it is clear from the context what the clause means, or ought to mean.

It would be beside my present purpose to add more about mere details. Enough has been said to shew that there is good reason for adopting the proposed rearrangement of the passage in general, which (i) accounts for the verbal correspondence of ver. 21 with ver. 8; (ii) applies a definite *subject* to עבר; (iii) explains the reference of בה; (iv) gives to עבר its most natural application; (v) interprets רעב[2] in an appropriate, if not the most appropriate, way; (vi) refers the expression rendered "curse...their God" to heathens; (vii) and prepares the way for the contrast in כי לא מועף וגו׳.

It is a moot point in what way the destruction of Sennacherib's host was brought about, since the historical notice in 2 Kings xix. 35[3] gives no more specific intimation than that "it came to pass that night that the angel of the Lord went out and smote in the camp of the Assyrians an hundred fourscore

[1] Reifman in Haschachar, Oct. 1870, p. 64, reads הגילה.

[2] Perhaps the contrast "joy in harvest" (ix. 3) is intended to be significant.

[3] Cf. 2 Chron. xxxii. 21.

and five thousand: and when they arose early in the morning, behold, they were all dead corpses."

There is reason to think that the final stroke which destroyed the Assyrian power was led up to by famine, which is so often mentioned amongst divine judgments in the phrase "the sword, the famine, and the pestilence." The interruption of field labours leads to famine which affects the whole country: "Ye shall eat this year such things as grow of themselves, &c." (2 Kings xix. 29); and in particular a vast army would find difficulty in obtaining provisions, according to the remark of Ibn Ezra, given above.

Very significant in this connexion is the action of Hezekiah.

"He took counsel with his princes and his mighty men to stop the waters of the fountains which were without the city: and they did help him. So there was gathered much people together, who stopped all the fountains, and the brook that ran through the midst of the land, saying, *Why should the kings of Assyria come, and find much water"?* (2 Chron. xxxii. 3, 4)—a proceeding which is indeed condemned in some passages of the Talmud Babli, as shewing a dependence upon human means:

"Our Rabbis have taught, Six things did Hezekiah the king, for three they praised him, and for three they praised him not. He hid the book of medicines and they praised him; he broke the serpent of brass and they praised him; he trailed the bones of his father on a bier of ropes and they praised him. And for three they praised him not. *He stopped the waters of Gihon and they praised him not;* he broke off the doors of the temple and presented them to the king of Asshur and they praised him not; he intercalated Nisan in Nisan and they praised him not" (*T. B. Berachoth* 10 b *and Pesachim* 56 b); but in the *Aboth de R. Nathan II.* a stopping of the waters of Gihon is mentioned amongst four things which Hezekiah king of Judah did, and in all of which "*his mind accorded with the mind of the Most High,* for it is said, Hezekiah stopped the upper watercourse of Gihon...*and Hezekiah prospered in all his works*" (2 Chron. xxxii. 30).

There is a suggestive passage bearing on this point in Blunt's *Undesigned Coincidences:*

"Isaiah was to *go forth* to meet Ahaz, at the *end of the conduit of the upper pool* (Isai. vii. 3); to go forth—the conduit of the upper pool therefore was without the walls, open to the use of the enemy. Ahaz, therefore, we may *conjecture*, was employed, as we *know*, though not from Isaiah, Hezekiah under similar circumstances afterwards was employed, with a number of his people, in providing a defence for the city by stopping the fountains, of which the enemy might get possession."

In later times a siege of Jerusalem was actually prevented by similar measures:

"And Saladin heard that the Franks were preparing to come against Jerusalem in great force, and he sent and gathered his forces and prepared for war, and he strengthened the walls of Jerusalem, *and destroyed all the reservoirs of water that were without Jerusalem.* And when the Franks were prepared to come against Jerusalem, the king of England dissuaded them, for he said 'The district of Jerusalem is a dry district, and the Arabs have destroyed all the water that was round about it, and the river is more than a parasang distant, and think not that Jerusalem is like Acco, believe (me), but for the sea we could not have encamped two days against Acco.' And they all acquiesced in his counsel, and they removed to Gaza."

(Bar Hebræi *Chronicon Syriacum*, text pp. 421, 2, ed. Bruns et Kirsch).

It is possible that Isaiah may be alluding to actual privations which the enemy was to endure in the verse: "It shall be even as when an *hungry* man (הָרָעֵב, cf. וְרָעֵב נַפְשֹׁה) dreameth, and, behold, he eateth; but he awaketh, and his soul is empty: or as when a *thirsty* man dreameth, and, behold, he drinketh; but he awaketh, and, behold, he is faint, and his soul hath appetite: so shall the multitude of all the nations be, that fight against mount Zion" (Isai. xxix. 8); and again in an expression of peculiar difficulty at the end of x. 27:

יסור סבלו מעל שכמך ועלו מעל צוארך
וְחֻבַּל עֹל מִפְּנֵי שָׁמֶן

on which Hitzig writes:

"Diese Worte sind von jeher missverstanden worden. Nach Gesenius und dem Syrer bedeuten sie: Der fette Stier werfe muthwillig werdend das Joch ab... Vielmehr ist die Meinung: das Joch, dem früher magern und unansehnlichen Stier umgethan, wird dem immer fetter werdenden allmählig zu eng, indem der Hals immer mehr Fett ansetzt, und berstet endlich." But this also is, I think, an improbable interpretation; for (i) the significance of this *fatness* is quite different (Deut. xxxii. 15; Jer. v. 28; l. 11; Ezek. xxxiv. 16, 20. Notice also Isai. vi. 10); (ii) the ox itself would be injured by a yoke which grows "allmählig zu eng"; (iii) this deliverance is never ascribed to the strength or "fatness" of Judah, but is represented as coming from above; (iv) under the circumstances it is inconceivable that the "Stier" should grow "immer fetter." Both sides were rather in danger of starvation owing to the desolation of the land: "Therefore shall the Lord, the Lord of hosts, send among his fat ones (במשמניו) leanness" (x. 16), see xvii. 4, &c. The following interpretation better suits, I will not say the words, but at any rate the external circumstances:—take מפני שמן in the sense "owing to (*lack of*) oil," comparing מִשָּׁמֶן (Ps. cix. 24 [Symmachus[1] has *ὑπὸ ἀνηλειψίας*, and Apolinarius *νόσφιν ἐλαίου*]), and מִבְּחֹ (Jer. xlviii. 45, in *Rashi* and the מצודת דוד). It was the custom to *anoint* shields (Isai. xxi. 5; 2 Sam. i. 21) since otherwise they would become brittle. In like manner a yoke might grow brittle if not anointed[2]. The "yoke" in Isai. x. 27 is the Assyrian power, which was to become attenuated by privation and at length be destroyed: in this sense the yoke was to be "broken" or marred literally through (want of) שמן.

In conclusion I must ask the reader to consider the two main points of this article as far as possible independently. We may reject the theory that certain allusions to *famine* have

[1] See Field's *Origenis Hexaplorum quæ supersunt.*

[2] "*Computrescet jugum*, i.e. jugi lora, [Jer. v. 5] *defectu olei*" (Sanctius). For the implied but not expressed negative, compare the negative use of the piel in some verbs. Thus סקל means "lapidibus *purgavit*" in Isai. v. 2, although it has the positive meaning "lapidibus *petiit*" in 2 Sam. xvi. 6.

a literal application, and yet admit that וְעָבַר in viii. 21 has the same subject as וְעָבַר in viii. 8, and that בָּהּ in the one verse corresponds to בִּיהוּדָה in the other. This verbal correspondence is the basis of my argument, and the reference to Sennacherib in ver. 21 suggested itself as a *corollary*. Ibn Ezra on the other hand seems to start from his literal interpretation of וְרָעֵב, and he makes no explicit allusion to the occurrence of וְעָבַר with the same subject in ver. 8.

C. TAYLOR.

NOTE ON A PASSAGE OF PLATO SOPH. 262 D.

Ξέν. οὕτω δὴ καθάπερ τὰ πράγματα τὰ μὲν ἀλλήλοις ἥρμοττε, τὰ δὲ οὔ, καὶ περὶ τὰ τῆς φωνῆς αὖ σημεῖα τὰ μὲν οὐχ ἁρμόττει, τὰ δὲ ἁρμόττοντα αὐτῶν λόγον ἀπειργάσατο.

From the use of the Imperfect *ἥρμοττε* it would seem that the Eleate is in this passage using a comparison that has already been made and is well known to his respondent. I have however searched the dialogue in vain for any notice of *πράγματα ἁρμόττοντα*; but in pp. 252 E, 253 A, &c., where the Communion of Kinds is discussed, an example is introduced of the combination of *letters*, of which some will combine and others not; and in p. 261 D is an exact parallel to this passage... *καθάπερ ἐπὶ τῶν εἰδῶν καὶ τῶν γραμμάτων ἐλέγομεν, περὶ τῶν ὀνομάτων αὖ...ἐπισκεψώμεθα...Εἴτε πάντα ἀλλήλοις ξυναρμόττει εἴτε μηδέν, εἴτε τὰ μὲν ἐθέλει, τὰ δὲ οὔ.* [For other examples of this illustration vid. Theaet. 202 E, Polit. 277.]

Considering that for some pages *πράττειν, πρᾶξις* have been used of the action of the verb, in which sense *πρᾶγμα* itself is used a few lines lower, and that *πράγματα* with this meaning is here quite irrelevant, I cannot but think that for ΠΡΑΓΜΑΤΑ we should in this passage read ΓΡΑΜΜΑΤΑ, which is in perfect accordance with the line of argument pursued from p. 261 D.

EDMUND ARBLASTER.

Clare Coll.

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THE HASTÁMALAKA.

THE poem, of which I give the text and translation below, is one which is very well known in India, but has never been printed in Europe. Most educated natives know it by heart, and it is universally considered as one of the best summaries of the Vedánta doctrine. Its authorship is uncertain; but there are two commentaries upon it, each of which curiously enough is ascribed to 'Sankara 'Achárya, the celebrated Vedántist teacher of the eighth or ninth century. Dr Hall, in his 'Bibliographical Index,' ascribes the poem to Hastámalaka. The twelfth stanza is quoted in the Vedánta-sára (the only quotation which I have noticed from the work), and Hastámalaka is mentioned as the author in the Vidwan-manoranjiní Commentary on the Vedánta-sára, by Rámatírtha-yati. Hastámalaka is celebrated as one of 'Sankara's earliest disciples; and he is afterwards said to have founded a modified form of Vedántism recognizing Vishṇu as the supreme Brahma. It is probable, however, that the title of the poem has no reference to any author, as *hastámalaka* may simply mean 'a myrobalan on the hand,' and thus be used metaphorically to signify something very plain and obvious, as the round fruit on the open palm. The phrase is thus used in the Vajrasúchí Upanishad (Weber's ed. p. 213. 10), where the true Bráhman is

described as 'the contented man, free from desires and passions, who sees everything as visibly before him as a myrobalan on the palm of his hand' (*karatalámalakam iva*[1]); and this is the interpretation which one of my Pundits in Calcutta gave to the title.

The ultimate identity of the individual and the supreme soul is the great tenet of the Vedánta. 'That art thou' (*tat twam asi*) is the first lesson of the neophyte, and the last vision of the perfected mystic. The one supreme soul alone exists; all the separate consciousnesses of individuals are but the reflection of the one soul on the multitudinous 'internal organs' which are the creation of 'ignorance' or illusion. To reach reality we must strip off the successive veils—the waking world first (where the soul is disguised by the gross effects), and the world of dreams next (where it is disguised by the subtil effects), till we reach that of sound sleep. Here for the time the individual soul does attain its real nature, but its inherent delusion remains latent, and is still capable of being called out into actuality. Only the knowledge of the highest truth, as taught in the Vedánta, can abolish ignorance, and so destroy personality in its germ[2].

The soul's real nature, as identical with Brahma, is always described as 'essentially existent, intelligence, and joy'; but though defined as essentially intelligence, this intelligence is not exercised on any object, as all objects, as well as the internal organ or 'mind' which cognizes transient perceptions, are produced by 'ignorance,' and therefore unreal. There is a striking verse of the *Yoga-vásishṭa*[3]:

"As would be the pure nature of light, if all that is illumined by it, as space, earth, and ether, were annihilated, such is the loneliness of the pure-essenced spectator (soul), when all objects, as I, thou, and the three worlds, have passed into non-existence."

[1] Cf. also Vijnána-bhikshu, Comm. on Sánkhya S. p. 96. 2 infr.

[2] There is a remarkable passage in Hippolytus' Philosophumena, I. p. 29: *τοῦτο δὲ τὸ φῶς ὅ φασι λόγον τὸν Θεὸν, αὐτοὺς μόνους εἰδέναι Βραχμᾶνας λέγουσι, διὰ τὸ ἀπορρίψαι μόνους τὴν κενοδοξίαν, ὅ ἐστι χιτὼν τῆς ψυχῆς ἔσχατος.*

[3] Quoted in Vijnána-bhikshu's Comm. on Sánkhya Sútra, p. 97.

"कस्त्वं शिशो कस्य कुतो ऽ सि गन्ता
किं नाम ते त्वं कुत आगतो ऽ सि ।
एतद्वद त्वं मम सुप्रसिद्धं
मत्प्रीतये प्रीतिविवर्धनो ऽ सि" ॥ १ ॥

नाहं मनुष्यो न च देवयक्षो
न ब्राह्मणक्षत्रियवैश्यशूद्रः ।
न ब्रह्मचारी न गृही वनस्थो
भिक्षुर्न चाहं निजबोधरूपः ॥ २ ॥

निमित्तं मनश्चक्षुरादिप्रवृत्तौ
निरस्ताखिलोपाधिराकाशरूपः ।
रविर्लोकचेष्टानिमित्तं यथा यः
स नित्योपलब्धिस्वरूपो ऽ हमात्मा ॥ ३ ॥

यमग्न्युष्णवन्नित्यबोधस्वरूपं
मनश्चक्षुरादीन्यबोधात्मकानि ।
प्रवर्तन्त आश्रित्य निष्कम्पमेकं
स नित्योपलब्धिस्वरूपो ऽ हमात्मा ॥ ४ ॥

मुखाभासको दर्पणे दृश्यमानो
मुखत्वान्मृषैवैक एवास्ति वस्तु ।

चिदाभासको धीषु जीवो ऽ पि तद्वत्
स नित्योपलब्धिस्वरूपो ऽ हमात्मा ॥ ५ ॥

यथा दर्पणाभाव आभासहानौ
मुखं विद्यते कल्पनाहीनमेकम् ।
तथा धीवियोगे निराभासको यः
स नित्योपलब्धिस्वरूपो ऽ हमात्मा ॥ ६ ॥

मनश्चक्षुरादेर्विमुक्तः स्वयं यो
मनश्चक्षुरादेर्मनश्चक्षुरादिः ।
मनश्चक्षुरादेरगम्यस्वरूपः
स नित्योपलब्धिस्वरूपो ऽ हमात्मा ॥ ७ ॥

य एको विभाति स्वतः शुद्धचेताः[1]
प्रकाशस्वरूपो ऽ पि नानेव धीषु ।
शरावोदकस्थो यथा भानुरेकः
स नित्योपलब्धिस्वरूपो ऽ हमात्मा ॥ ८ ॥

यथानेकचक्षुःप्रकाशो रविर्न
क्रमेण प्रकाशीकरोति प्रकाश्यम् ।
अनेका धियो यस्तथैकप्रबोधः
स नित्योपलब्धिस्वरूपो ऽ हमात्मा ॥ ९ ॥

[1] I. O. Lib. MS. reads Siddhachetáḥ.

विवस्वत्प्रभातं यथा रूपमच्चं
प्रगृह्णाति नाभातमेवं विवस्वान् ।
तथा भात आभासयत्यच्चमेकः
स नित्योपलब्धिस्वरूपो ऽ हमात्मा ॥ १० ॥

यथा सूर्य एको ऽ प्यनेकच्चलासु
स्थिरास्वप्यनन्चग्विभाव्यस्वरूपः[1] ।
चलासु प्रभिन्नासु धीष्वेक एवं
स नित्योपलब्धिस्वरूपो ऽ हमात्मा ॥ ११ ॥

घनच्छन्नदृष्टिर्घनच्छन्नमर्कं
यथा निष्प्रभं मन्यते चातिमुढः ।
तथा बद्धवद्भाति यो मूढदृष्टेः
स नित्योपलब्धिस्वरूपो ऽ हमात्मा ॥ १२ ॥

समस्तेषु वस्तुष्वनुस्यूतमेकं
समस्तानि वस्तूनि यं न स्पृशन्ति ।
वियद्वत् सदा शुद्धमच्छस्वरूपं
स नित्योपलब्धिस्वरूपो ऽ हमात्मा ॥ १३ ॥

[1] ananvak=pṛithak. Comm.

उपाधौ यथा भेदता सन्मणीनां
तथा भेदता बुद्धिभेदेषु ते ऽ पि ।
यथा चन्द्रकानां जले चञ्चलत्वं
तथा चञ्चलत्वं तवापीह विष्णो ॥ १४ ॥

1. 'Who art thou, my child, and whose, and whither goest thou? what is thy name, and whence art thou come? Tell me all this clearly to gladden me,—thou fillest my heart with gladness.'

2. 'I am not a man nor a god nor a demigod, no bráhman, kshatriya, vaiśya, nor śúdra; no student, nor householder, nor anchorite, nor religious mendicant; innate Knowledge am I.

3. 'That which is the cause of the action of mind, eye, and the rest, as the sun is the cause of the movements of living beings, but which itself is void of all conditioning disguises, like the infinite ether,—that Soul, essentially eternal perception, am I.

4. 'That which being itself one, unmoved and essentially eternal knowledge (as the fire is essentially heat), is the substratum which bears, as they act, the mind, eye and the rest, which are mere Ignorance[1],—that Soul, essentially eternal perception, am I.

5. 'The reflection of the face seen in the mirror is nothing in itself as separated from the face, so is the personal soul in itself nothing, the reflection of Intelligence on the internal organ,—that Soul, essentially eternal perception, am I.

6. 'As the reflection vanishes when the mirror is not, and the face remains alone, apart from all delusion, so that Soul

[1] The MS. Comm. takes it differently: "that which being itself one, unmoved and essentially eternal knowledge, is the substratum which bears as they act, the mind, eye, and the rest, which are mere ignorance,—as the fire is the substratum that bears the heat,—that Soul, &c."

which remains without a reflection when the understanding is not, that Soul, essentially eternal perception, am I.

7. 'That which abiding aloof from mind, eye, and the rest, is itself mind, eye and the rest to mind, eye and the rest, and whose nature mind, eye and the rest cannot reach,—that Soul, essentially eternal perception, am I.

8. 'That which, being one, shines forth self-manifested, possessing pure Intelligence, and itself essential Light, and which yet appears as though variously modified in various internal organs, as the one sun shines reflected in the water of different vessels,—that Soul, essentially eternal perception, am I.

9. 'As the sun, illumining countless eyes, illumines at the same moment the object to each, so that Soul, the one intelligence, which illumines countless internal organs,—that Soul, essentially eternal perception, am I.

10. 'As the bodily sense illumined by the sun grasps the form of the object, but when unillumined grasps it not, so *that* by which the one sun must be itself illumined to illumine the sense,—that Soul, essentially eternal perception, am I.

11. 'As the one sun seems many in the agitated waters, and even when reflected in still waters must be yet recognized as really separate, so that which, though really one, seems many in the restless internal organs,—that Soul, essentially eternal perception, am I.

12. 'As he whose eye is covered with a cloud thinks in his delusion that the sun is clouded and has lost its light, so that Soul which seems bound to him whose mind's eye is blind,—that Soul, essentially eternal perception, am I.

13. 'That which, being in itself one, is strung through all things, and yet with which nothing ever comes in contact, and which, like the ether, is always pure and uncontaminated[1] in its nature,—that Soul, essentially eternal perception, am I.

[1] The printed Comm. explains *achchha* as *amúrtta*, the MS. as *samsargarahita*.

14. 'As the pure crystals appear different by the presence of a disguiser[1], so thou too appearest different by the diversity of individual minds; as the moonbeams appear to be tremulous in water, so thou too, O Vishṇu, appearest to flicker in our world!'

Of the two different commentaries on the Hastámalaka, ascribed to 'Sankara 'Achárya, one was printed at the end of the Calcutta edition of the Vedánta-sára, in 1853; there is a MS. of the other in the India Office Library, belonging to the Guikwar collection, and copied Samvat 1563 (A.D. 1506). Both profess to claim 'Sankara 'Achárya as their author; but both, especially the latter, are far too diffuse to vindicate their claim to have been written by the greatest philosophical author that India has produced. As a specimen of each, I subjoin the introductory passage, in which each professes to explain the origin and object of the poem. Neither gloss comments on the two first stanzas, as found in our present text; both begin their explanations with the third.

The Commentary in the E. I. Library (MS. 2532) thus opens: "a certain student, who had attained supreme knowledge and who had assumed the last body before absolute emancipation, having been ejected from home by his relations because he seemed obstinately dumb, was pointed out by his father, and accordingly asked by the author of the Commentary (on the Vedánta-sútras, i. e. 'Sankara), 'who art thou?' Desiring that others also might have a dignity like his own, he proceeded accordingly to describe his own pre-eminence, and to declare himself in the following stanzas (i. e. beginning with the third[2])."

The other Commentary opens with the following introduction:

[1] As the China rose reflected in it.

[2] Kaśchid utpanna-jnání ávirbhútacharamadehaḥ swajanena múkatwena vahishkṛitaḥ pitrá pradarśito bháshyakṛidbhiḥ 'kas twam' iti pṛishṭaḥ swánubhávaṃ prakaṭayann 'anyeshám apy anubhávo bhúyán madvad' iti manyáno yathávad átmánam áchachakshe '*nimittam*' ityádibhir dwádaśabhiḥ ślokaiḥ.

"All beings here have an instinctive desire to obtain happiness and to escape pain; now a certain person, possessed of a pre-eminent amount of merit, and considering worldly happiness as only so much pain from its inseparable connection with pain and from its transitoriness, becomes thoroughly disgusted with all mundane existence, and in his disgust he strives to escape from its bonds; and his teacher, telling him that the ignorance of the soul's nature is the cause of all mundane existence, and the knowledge thereof the cause of its abolition, instructs him accordingly in the knowledge of the individual soul."

Neither of these opening paragraphs gives any hint as to the author or the real circumstances of the composition of the poem. A Bengali translation inserts a curious legend, that 'Sankara, in the course of his wanderings as a religious reformer, met one day in the road a certain beautiful youth, whom he addressed in the words of the first verse, and who repeated the remainder of the poem as his reply; but there seems no authority for this story.

There is a curious parallel to the Hastámalaka in an ode of the great Persian mystic Shamsi Tabríz, quoted by Erskine in the first volume of the Bombay Literary Society's Transactions.

"What advice, O Musalmáns, as I do not know myself;
I am neither Christian nor Jew, nor am I a fire-worshipper nor Musulmán.
I am not from the East nor the West, nor am I of land or fire,
I am not from the country of 'Irák, nor am I from the land of Khurásán.
I am neither of water nor air, nor am I of fire or earth;
I am not of Adam or Eve, nor am I of the inhabitants of paradise.
My place is no place, my sign is without sign:
I have neither body nor soul,—what is there then? I am the soul of my beloved."

E. B. COWELL.

CONJECTURAL EMENDATION OF THE SAMARITAN TARGUM ON GEN. XIV. 5.

In Gen. xiv. 5 the Hebrew רפאים is represented in the printed text of the Samaritan Targum, as given in Walton's Polyglot, by ֲזחנבעזֲק *sulapeyya*, which Castell in his Lexicon renders *gigantes*, connecting it with the Chaldee סלעם, *absorpsit, deglutivit*. Now by a slight change of two very similar letters we get ֲזחנטעזֲק *sultaneyya*, 'powerful ones,' a word which, though not found in Castell, has a much stronger warrant for its existence in the cognate Arabic root, as well as in the Hebrew שַׁלִּיט, than the word which stands in the printed text.

W. A. W.

I. 'TO SAVE APPEARANCES.'

[Read before the Cambridge Philological Society 20 May 1875.]

THIS phrase has not, so far as I know, been traced to its source. I am now able to carry it up to a date many hundred years older than that which I assigned to it seventeen years ago. In a passage, otherwise also of great interest, Plutarch says *de fac. in orbe lunae* 6 § 3 p. 923ᵃ:

καὶ ὁ Λεύκιος γελάσας, 'μόνον' εἶπεν, 'ὦ τάν, μὴ κρίσιν ἡμῖν ἀσεβείας ἐπαγγείλῃς, ὥσπερ Ἀρίσταρχον ᾤετο δεῖν Κλεάνθης τὸν Σάμιον ἀσεβείας προσκαλεῖσθαι τοὺς Ἕλληνας ὡς κινοῦντα τοῦ κόσμου τὴν ἑστίαν, ὅτι τὰ φαινόμενα σώζειν ['à sauuer les apparences' AMYOT] *ἀνὴρ ἐπειρᾶτο, μένειν τὸν οὐρανὸν ὑποτιθέμενος, ἐξελίττεσθαι δὲ κατὰ λοξοῦ κύκλου τὴν γῆν, ἅμα καὶ περὶ τὸν αὑτῆς ἄξονα δινουμένην.*'

The lax modern acceptation of the words is perhaps not older than the sixteenth century. Littré indeed (s. v. *apparence* n. 2) cites no earlier authorities than Molière, Bossuet, Massillon, Fénelon, Balzac. Add Bayle (*Agesilaus* n. H) "ce sont, généralement parlant, les maximes de tous les états; la différence des uns aux autres n'est que du plus au moins: les uns sauvent mieux les apparences que les autres." But Tommaseo s. v. *apparenza* n. 7 alleges the *concetti politici* of Fr. Sansovino, published in 1575.

In England the phrase owes its popularity no doubt to Milton. I therefore make no apology for reproducing here a note which I printed in *Notes and Queries* 21 Aug. 1858 (2nd Ser. VI n. 138 p. 143):

I do not find that the commentators have pointed out the source of the singular lines in the *Par. Lost* VIII 82, 83. Yet no one who considers the strong attractions which the bold and eloquent *History of the Council of Trent* must have possessed for the author of *Areopagitica*, and observes the exact verbal correspondences of the two passages cited below, will doubt that Milton was indebted here to Father Paul:—

" . . . . or if they list to try
Conjecture, he his fabric of the heav'ns
Hath left to their disputes, perhaps to move
His laughter at their quaint opinions wide
Hereafter, when they come to model heav'n
And calculate the stars, how they will wield
The mighty frame, how build, unbuild, contrive
To save appearances, how gird the sphere
With centric and eccentric scribbled o'er,
Cycle and epicycle, orb in orb."

"Fú da alcuni faceti detto, che se gli astrologi, non sapendo le vere cause de' moti celesti, per salvare le apparenze, hanno dato in eccentrici et epicicli, non era maraviglia, se volendo salvare le apparenze de' moti sopracelesti, si dava in eccentricitá d' opinioni."—*Hist. del Conc. Trid.* Lond. 1619 p. 222.

The allusion is well explained in "The life of Samuel Fairclough" p. 184 (printed in Samuel Clark's *Lives of Sundry Eminent Persons*, Lond. 1683 fol.): "He could never expect to see or find peace on earth amongst men, until the spirits of men were so acted by the Spirit of God, as the spheres are said (in the old philosophy) to be acted above by angels, where all

the little smaller epicycles and circles of every particular orb do all give themselves up wholly to the conduct and motion of the larger and greater spheres; and truly (said he) it is this, which (according to that hypothesis) doth make the sweetest music in heaven." [Bossuet also (*Variations* XV 81 cited by Littré s. v. *sauver* n. 9) has made use of Father Paul: 'Les anciens avaient imaginé je ne sais combien de cercles différemment entrelacés les uns dans les autres, par lesquels ils sauvaient toutes ces bizarreries.' Mr Wright reminds me of Bacon's *Essay* XVII, which was no doubt known to Milton, but he also knew and cites elsewhere Father Paul. Bacon says: 'It was gravely said, by some of the Prelates, in the *Councell of Trent*, where the doctrine of the Schoolemen bare great Sway; *That the Schoolemen were like Astronomers, which did faigne Eccentricks and Epicycles, and such Engines of Orbs, to save the Phenomena; though they knew, there were no such things:* And, in like manner, that the Schoolmen had framed a Number of subtile and intricate *Axiomes* and *Theorems*, to save the practise of the Church.'

Since the above was in print I received from the Rev. G. Wheelwright a specimen (8 pp. 4to. FA—FACE) of the new English dictionary promised by the Philological Society. Here under *fabricate* I found a reference to Burton's *Anatomy of Melancholy* p. 2 s. 2 m. 3, where is much curious learning respecting epicycles and eccentrics. In p. 159 col. 2 (ed. 1676) all the editions (I have had the advantage of consulting Mr Wright's collection with his aid) read: '*Maginus* makes eleven Heavens subdivided into their Orbes and circles, and all too little to serve those particular appearances,' where I should not venture upon the correction *save*. Elsewhere the true reading *salve* has been in the first and several other editions displaced by *solve*. Thus p. 160 col. 2: 'To avoid therefore these impossibilities, they ascribe a triple motion to the earth,... and so solve all apparences better than any way whatsoever.' Yet a few lines lower down *salve* has kept its place: 'to salve those ordinary objections of Parallaxes and Retrogradations of the fixed stars.' *Solve* occurs again by mistake p. 162 col. 1:

'But to avoid these Paradoxes of the earths motion (which the Church of *Rome* hath lately condemned as heretical, as appears by *Blancanus* and *Fromundus* writings) our latter Mathematicians have rolled all the stones that may be stirred: and to solve all appearances and objections, have invented new hypotheses, and fabricated new systems of the World, out of their own *Dedalœan* (sic) heads.']

II. 'IN PURIS NATURALIBUS.'

The history of this phrase affords a striking instance of that degeneration of abstract philosophical terms, which Hegel, if I remember right, as cited in *Guesses at Truth*, supposed to be characteristic of England, pointing to the very material sense attached by our chemists and grocers to such a word as *essence*. I have myself heard a dignitary charge materialism on the Athanasian Creed because of its use of the *ὁμοούσιον*.

In puris naturalibus, we all know, now means 'stark naked'; man *in puris naturalibus*, as our late Public Orator wittily put it, is to us man before the grace of the tailor. But in scholastic divinity *pura naturalia* are opposed to *supernaturalia*, man's unaided powers to his powers quickened and guided by Divine grace. See Jo. Duns Scotus *in* II *sent. dist.* 29 (not 39, as Cotta says) *qu. unica*, where *in p. n.* several times occurs. Tho. Aquin. *summa p.* I *qu.* 95 *art.* 1 'qui posuerunt hominem non esse creatum in gratia, sed *in naturalibus* tantum'; ibid. *prima sec. qu.* 109 *art.* 4 *tit.* 'utrum homo sine gratia *per sua naturalia* legis praecepta implere possit'; ibid. ad fin. 'praeceptum de dilectione Dei non potest homo implere *ex puris naturalibus*.' Cotta has appended a learned note

(IV 248—250) to Jo. Gerhard's *loci theol.* IX 'de imagine Dei in homine ante lapsum' § 46, in which many authorities are cited. See especially Bellarmine *de gratia primi hominis* c. 5 (*opp.* Colon. 1619 IV 23^{bc}) 'Quare non magis differt status hominis post lapsum Adae a statu eiusdem *in puris naturalibus*, quam differat spoliatus a nudo; neque deterior est humana natura, si culpam originalem detrahas, neque magis ignorantia et infirmitate laborat, quam esset et laboraret *in puris naturalibus* condita.' Cf. c. 7 col. 36^{ab}, 37^{ac}, 38^{b}, 39^{c}.

JOHN E. B. MAYOR.

NOTES ON THE AJAX OF SOPHOCLES.

399, 400.

οὔτε γὰρ θεῶν γένος οὔθ' ἁμερίων
ἔτ' ἄξιος βλέπειν εἰς ὄνασιν ἀνθρώπων.

I cannot see why εἰς ὄνασιν should not be taken adverbially here, = 'to advantage,' i. e. profitably. "For I am no longer worthy to behold the race either of gods or mortal men advantageously to myself."

Compare Soph. Phil. 111;

ὅταν τι δρᾷς ἐς κέρδος, οὐκ ὀκνεῖν πρέπει.

449.

οὐκ ἄν ποτε
δίκην κατ' ἄλλου φωτὸς ὧδ' ἐψήφισαν.

Why cannot ψηφίζω here have its proper meaning 'to count'? "They would never have thus *counted up* [the votes in] a law-suit to the detriment of another man." Cf. infr. 1135:

ΤΕΥ. κλέπτης γὰρ αὐτοῦ ψηφοποιὸς εὑρέθης.
ΜΕ. ἐν τοῖς δικασταῖς, οὐκ ἐμοὶ, τόδ' ἐσφάλη.

The persons who counted up the votes would have especial opportunities of manufacturing surreptitious ones. And such a repetition of Ajax's complaint against the Atridæ by Teucer gives a greater unity to the action, than the interpretation, which makes Teucer the originator of this special accusation.

465.

γυμνὸν φανέντα τῶν ἀριστείων ἄτερ,
ὧν αὐτὸς ἔσχε, στέφανον εὐκλείας μέγαν·

I cannot assent to any explanation of a double genitive, that I have seen, in the second of these lines. It appears to me that ὧν is simply the direct object of ἔσχε, attracted to its antecedent τῶν ἀριστείων, while στέφανον εὐκλείας μέγαν is in apposition with ἃ, the proper object of ἔσχεν, implied in the attracted ὧν. Compare 967, 968;

ὧν γὰρ ἠράσθη τυχεῖν,
ἐκτήσαθ' αὑτῷ, θάνατον ὅνπερ ἤθελεν.

where θάνατον ὅνπερ ἤθελεν is a mere exegetical apposition to ὧν ἠράσθη τυχεῖν.

556, 557.

ὅταν δ' ἵκῃ πρὸς τοῦτο, δεῖ σ'——ὅπως πατρὸς
δείξεις ἐν ἐχθροῖς οἷος ἐξ ὅτου 'τράφης.

I think the hypothesis of an aposiopesis from agitation after δεῖ σ', and then a change of construction, is preferable to any method of forcing δεῖ σ' into syntactical union with ὅπως δείξεις.

730.

κολεῶν ἐρυστὰ διεπεραιώθη ξίφη.

The proper meaning of διαπεραιόω is 'to cause to pass across'. Why can it not mean here: 'swords, drawn from sheaths, were *crossed*'? It would then be vividly descriptive of the attitude of persons proceeding in a quarrel as far as possible without actually striking a blow. Or perhaps, as ἐπεραιώθη is the intransitive aor. of περαιόω, διεπεραιώθη would be better translated simply "*crossed*."

803.

οἰ 'γὼ, φίλοι, πρόστητ' ἀναγκαίας τύχης.

If we analyse the word πρόστητε, we arrive at once at the meaning 'stand in front of'. Adding the idea of motion with a view to standing in front of, we obtain the meaning 'get in front of', i. e. 'be beforehand with'. Thus, although I am not aware of any similar use of the word, we arrive at exactly the meaning required by the context: 'Alas, friends, be beforehand with fate!'

1083.

ταύτην νόμιζε τὴν πόλιν χρόνῳ ποτε,
ἐξ οὐρίων δραμοῦσαν, ἐς βυθὸν πεσεῖν.

With regard to ἐξ οὐρίων, it is surely as legitimate to refer to such passages as Æsch. Eumen. 147:

ἐξ ἀρκύων πέπτωκεν οἴχεται δ' ὁ θήρ,

as to ἐξ οὐρίας πλεῖν and similar expressions, which usually abound in the notes of commentators. And the former reference brings out an easy and vivid sense, which is not very apparent in the latter.

"Consider that that state some day in course of time, if it were to run out of the sphere of favourable winds (εἰ δράμοι), will fall into the abyss."

1112.

οὐ γάρ τι τῆς σῆς οὕνεκ' ἐστρατεύσατο
γυναικὸς, ὥσπερ οἱ πόνου πολλοῦ πλέῳ.

I understand ὥσπερ οἱ πόνου πολλοῦ πλέῳ to be a hit at the meddlesome and fussy character of the Atridæ.

"For Ajax did not go on the expedition at all on account of your wife, like those who are full of much ado," meaning by that, Menelaus himself, who was meddling with the burial of Ajax, a matter with which he had properly no concern.

1396, 1397, compared with Heb. vi. 6.

τὰ δ' ἄλλα καὶ ξύμπρασσε κεἴ τινα στρατοῦ
θέλεις κομίζειν, οὐδὲν ἄλγος ἕξομεν.

In this passage I think *τινα στρατοῦ* must be taken as the subject and not the object of *κομίζειν*, which again I think is used intransitively in the sense 'exequias ire'. "And if you wish any member of the army to attend the funeral, I shall feel no annoyance." That is to say, although Teucer objects to Ulysses attending Ajax's funeral himself, yet he is perfectly willing to allow him to send a representative to do so. If I were to supply an object to *κομίζειν*, it would be *τὸν νεκρόν*, for which compare Eurip. Andromache 74.

This is one of those curious uses of a transitive verb in an intransitive sense, which illustrate the employment of *ἀνακαινίζειν* in the sense of renewing [a covenant] in Heb. vi. 6, where I translate, "For it is impossible that those who have been once illuminated.....and have fallen away should renew [their covenant] again in the direction of repentance, by [re]crucifying for themselves the Son of God, and putting him to open shame."

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ON PLATO, THEÆTETUS 207 E.

CURTIUS grounds his opinion that the Greek aspirates were up to the period of classical literature, if not much later, genuine aspirates or double sounds—that is, not *spirants*, on the following five considerations:

1. The moveability of the aspirate as shown, e. g. in reduplication-syllables and in the Ionic *κιθών*, &c. as compared with Attic *χιτών*.

2. The representation by foreigners of the aspirates by the corresponding *tenues*, as in the case of the Scythian in Aristophanes, Thesmophorazusae—*πέρε* for *φέρε*.

3. Latin transcription—e. g. *tesaurus*, *Corintus*, where *t* stands for Greek *θ*.

4. The mention by Dionysius of Halicarnassus of the *προσθήκη τοῦ πνεύματος*.

5. The fact that modern Greek in some dialects gives the *tenuis* for the older *aspirate*—e. g. *ἔκω* for *ἔχω*, *τέλω* for *θέλω*.

Now any additional evidence on this point coming actually from the Classical period of Greek literature would be especially important: and it seems to me that the passage in question goes a long way towards supplying this deficiency. The question is there asked whether a man could be said to have real scientific knowledge of (*ἐπίστασθαι*) the first syllable of the names *Θεαίτητος* and *Θεόδωρος*, if in the one case he were (by accident) to spell it right $\Theta + \epsilon$, and in the other wrong $\mathrm{T} + \epsilon$. The example seems to derive its whole point from the ease with which such a mistake might be made by an unlettered person; while the improbability of the mistake is increased and the *θῆτα* and *ταῦ* more widely separated and less likely to be confounded, if we assume that the *θ* had a pronunciation somewhat like modern Greek *θ* or our own hard *th* in *thin*.

E. S. ROBERTS.

ON THE SO-CALLED *ARABICUS MONS*.

THE *Ancient Atlas* of Dr Smith and Mr Grove, just completed, contains a sheet of 'Geographical Systems of the Ancients'. They are drawn by Dr Karl Müller. In the Herodotean system there is a mountain range marked as 'Arabicus Mons', starting from above Heliopolis in Egypt, running parallel with the *Arabicus Sinus*, and ending in a 'Thurifera Regio' West of the opening into the Southern Sea, among or South of the Ethiopians:—in Africa as we should now call it. And its length is set down as "60 dierum iter."

In accordance with this, so far as it goes, Smith's Dictionary of Ancient Geography has a title '*Arabiae* or *Arabicus Mons*', which is said to be "the name given by Herodotus to the range of mountains which form the Eastern border of the Nile valley, and separated it from the part of Arabia West of the Arabian Gulf."

The invention and denomination of this mountain range has arisen from what I conceive to be a misunderstanding of Herodotus, Book II. 8.

Ἀπὸ δὲ Ἡλίου πόλιος, ἄνω ἰόντι στεινή ἐστι Αἴγυπτος. Τῇ μὲν γὰρ τῆς Ἀραβίης οὖρος παρατέταται, φέρον ἀπ' ἄρκτου πρὸς μεσαμβρίης τε καὶ νότου, αἰεὶ ἄνω τεῖνον ἐς τὴν Ἐρυθρὴν καλευμένην θάλασσαν· ἐν τῷ αἱ λιθοτομίαι ἔνεισι αἱ ἐς τὰς πυραμίδας κατατμηθεῖσαι τὰς ἐν Μέμφι. Ταύτῃ μὲν λῆγον ἀνακάμπτει ἐς τὰ εἴρηται τὸ οὖρος· τῇ δὲ αὐτὸ ἑωυτοῦ ἐστι μακρότατον, ὡς ἐγὼ ἐπυνθανόμην, δύο μηνῶν αὐτὸ εἶναι τῆς ὁδοῦ, ἀπ' ἠοῦς πρὸς ἑσπέρην, τὰ δὲ πρὸς τὴν ἠῶ λιβανωτοφόρα αὐτοῦ τὰ τέρματα εἶναι.

Herodotus goes on to say that this mountain and a corresponding one, on the Libyan side of the valley, make Egypt

narrow for about "four days' sail;" *τὸ δ' ἐνθεῦτεν αὖτις εὐρέα Αἰγυπτός ἐστι.*

Quite a different interpretation of this passage is that implied in Niebuhr's condensation of it (Geography of Herodotus, English Translation, Oxford, 1830): "The Arabian chain of mountains from West to East measures two months' journey (i. e. 12,000 stadia), from the edge of the valley of the Nile to the region of frankincense." He adds, "I say from *the edge of the valley of the Nile,* because the Gulf is considered as inland, and not as the boundary of the country."

Had the passage in Herodotus stood alone, I should even then have thought no other interpretation tenable. An Arabian mountain, of which the longest range is described as Easterly, comes to a termination at the Mokattam quarries, and thence turns South; and so, with the corresponding Libyan range, makes the valley of the Nile narrow for four days' journey up the stream: what becomes of it after this he does not distinctly say.

But there is another passage, which seems to me to remove any possible doubt where this West and East range is to be looked for.

In Book II. c. 158, describing the course of the canal intended by Necho to connect the Nile and the Red Sea, which started from the river near Bubastis and the modern Zagazig, he says: "*ἔχεται δὲ κατύπερθε τοῦ πεδίου*"—that is, to the South of the Eastern part of the plain of Lower Egypt—"*τὸ κατὰ Μέμφιν τεῖνον οὔρος, ἐν τῷ αἱ λιθοτομίαι ἔνεισι*"—the very words of the former passage, and he proceeds to say that the canal was carried along the foot of this mountain range "*ἀπ' ἑσπέρης μακρὴ πρὸς τὴν ἠῶ,*" after which "*τείνει ἐς διασφάγας, φέρουσα ἀπὸ τοῦ οὔρεος πρὸς μεσαμβρίην τε καὶ νότον ἄνεμον ἐς τὸν κόλπον τὸν Ἀράβιον.*" The low land at the head of the gulf is treated as a mere transverse valley, and the range continues Eastward into Arabia. In truth, Herodotus and the other Greeks who visited Egypt, must have been much more familiar with this West and East line of hills—or more correctly, I imagine, this northern boundary of the mass of intersected table land lying between the Nile and the Gulf, than

with the eastern bank of the Nile valley. The views of Gebel Geneffeh, Attakah, &c. strike the modern traveller on the Suez canal; and Murray's Guide tells us of spots whence the additional prospect of "the granite peaks of Sinai" combine with them to form "a really magnificent coup d'œil." It is, I conceive, at the end of a two months' journey in this direction that Herodotus was told we should scent the odours of the frankincense.

Niebuhr states a difficulty, without dwelling on it, in reconciling this *datum* for determining the incense country with the other in Book III. 107, that it occupies the *extreme South* of Arabia. I do not think it is necessary to picture the range to oneself as running due East: neither, on the other hand, do I suppose it possible to draw a map of the habitable world from the *data* of Herodotus which should be thoroughly self-consistent. But I think it quite clear that he placed this region in what we call Arabia, and not in what we call Africa. No doubt he extends Arabia West of the Gulf, where, then as now, there were Arab tribes bordering on Egypt and Nubia: but he does not carry it far South (see VII. 69). On the large scale, the succession Westward of the nations occupying the shores of the Southern sea is, in Asia, Persians, Assyrians, Arabians; and then, after the narrower strip, where Palestine and Egypt separate the northern and southern seas, comes Libya (IV. 39, 41). And the frankincense region is in the ἐσχατιὴ of Arabia; gold, elephants, ebony, and the long-lived Ethiopians in that of Libya (III. 107).

There is another passage pertinent to this question, which seems to me to confirm these inferences; but it is not so conclusive as it might be, owing either to our ignorance or to a corruption of the text (II. 75). Herodotus tells us he went to a place τῆς Ἀραβίης κατὰ Βουτοῦν πόλιν μάλιστά κῃ κείμενος where flights of winged serpents arrived every year from this frankincense region (III. 107), and were stopped and destroyed by the ibises at the mouth of a wady debouching into a large plain which joins on to the plain of Egypt. The only known Buto is here out of the question, being far away in the Western Delta. But the description certainly seems to point to the hills

flanking the Eastern Delta, between Cairo and Suez, or beyond the Suez Canal; and even if we suppose the spot to be South of Cairo, the wady must then run into the Nile valley from the East. It seems impossible to imagine the inroad to come from beyond Meroe[1].

[1] If we could ascertain the position, we might ascertain what it was that Herodotus really saw there which, with mind prepossessed, he accepted as heaps innumerable of serpents' bones and vertebræ (ἀκάνθας). The nummulites which, singly and in conglomerated masses, strew the path and compose the soil on the way to the Beni-hassan tombs, at once struck me as possibly his vertebræ. The same fossils are said to be Strabo's "petrified lentils" on the platform of the Pyramids: but I forgot to look for them when there. In all probability there are many other localities where they are equally conspicuous.

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ON ETH. NIC. II. 7.

In the Second Book of the Nicomachean Ethics, after it has been shown on general grounds that each 'virtue' or excellence is a 'mean state' between excess and defect, a chapter follows in which this position is confirmed by a list of the several Virtues and corresponding Vices. This list gives by anticipation, in a summary form, the results afterwards arrived at by the discussion of the Moral Virtues in Books III and IV. I propose to show that it is not only founded on the subsequent discussion (which we should expect to be the case) but also that it is of later date, and probably not the work of the same author. I shall then endeavour to point out the bearing of this conclusion on the disputed questions regarding the composition of the Nicomachean Ethics.

1. The terminology of the chapter in question (II. 7) is more complete than that of Books III—IV. In particular there are several characters which have no specific name given to them in the later place, e.g.

a. In III. 2, § 7, the defect answering to *σωφροσύνη* is said to be nameless, 'for such incapacity of feeling (*ἀναισθησία*) is not human'; but no name is proposed for it. In II. 7, the term *ἀναίσθητος* is adopted.

b. In IV. 6, the mean between the *ἄρεσκος* and the *δύσκολος* is said to have no name, but to be 'most like friendship' (*ἔοικε δὲ μάλιστα φιλίᾳ*). In II. 7 it is spoken of as *φιλία*, as though that were a well understood term.

c. In IV. 7, a 'nameless state' is discussed which is 'the mean of *ἀλαζόνεια*'. It is described by circumlocutions,—*ὁ ἀληθευτικός, οἱ ἀληθεύοντες* and the like—and in one place

(IV. 8, § 12) is said to be *περὶ ἀλήθειαν*. In II. 7 the term *ἀλήθεια* is definitely adopted (*ἡ μεσότης ἀλήθεια λεγέσθω*).

In all these cases a new term is adopted by the writer of II. 7, out of materials and hints contained in Books III and IV. Language which in these Books is used in a loose, illustrative way, is now strict and technical. And I cannot but think that the new uses of the words *φιλία* and *ἀλήθεια* are very harsh and unlike the manner of Aristotle.

2. The three 'social habits' are treated in Book IV in a manner which is professedly tentative and unsystematic. The discussion of *πραότης* suggests the habit which is 'like Friendship': then follows *ἡ ἀλαζονείας μεσότης*, with an apology for introducing 'mean states' that are not properly speaking Virtues: then *εὐτραπελία*. At the end, however, there is a short recapitulation (c. 8 § 12), in which the three habits are more accurately distinguished; *διαφέρουσι δὲ ὅτι ἡ μὲν περὶ ἀλήθειαν κ.τ.λ.* This classification gives us the new order *ἀλήθεια εὐτραπελία φιλία*: and is adopted ready made in II. 7, *περὶ μὲν οὖν τὸ ἀληθὲς κ.τ.λ.* Even the change of expression from *περὶ ἀλήθειαν* to *περὶ τὸ ἀληθές* may be accounted for by the fact that the Virtue itself is now called *ἀλήθεια*, and consequently could not be said in the same sentence to be *περὶ ἀλήθειαν*.

3. The opening words of the chapter under discussion—*δεῖ δὲ τοῦτο μὴ μόνον καθόλου λέγεσθαι ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς καθ' ἕκαστα ἐφαρμόττειν*—offer a use of the phrase *τὰ καθ' ἕκαστα* which it would be difficult to justify from Aristotle, and which is inconsistent with the use of the same phrase in the next words of the sentence—*περὶ γὰρ τὰ καθ' ἕκαστα αἱ πράξεις*. The 'particulars' with which action 'has to do' are those of *individual cases*. To confuse these with the several kinds of Virtue (*τὰ μέρη τῆς ἀρετῆς*) is the mistake of a clumsy imitator of Aristotle.

4. The expression *λογικαὶ ἀρεταί* at the end is noted by Sir A. Grant as post-Aristotelian.

5. The *διαγραφή* mentioned at the beginning of the chapter seems to be a catalogue or table. It is referred to

also in the Eudemian Ethics, 1228 *a* 28, *διειλομεν δ' ἐν τῇ διαγραφῇ πρότερον θράσος καὶ φόβον ἐναντία*: cp. 1230 *b* 12, and 1231 *b* 8. It is not like Aristotle to make use of a list of the kind, much less to found an argument upon it as though it were something well known and accepted.

6. The references to Book II contained in Books III and IV are in favour of this view.

Note especially the words at the beginning of the discussion of Temperance in Book III: *ὅτι μὲν οὖν μεσότης ἐστὶ περὶ ἡδονὰς ἡ σωφροσύνη εἴρηται ἡμῖν· ἧττον γὰρ καὶ οὐχ ὁμοίως ἐστὶ περὶ τὰς λύπας*, i.e. 'we have said about Temperance simply that it is about pleasures (and that was enough), for it is not about pains in the same way.' This is therefore a reference to II. 2, § 7, and ignores II. 7, where the words *ἧττον δὲ καὶ περὶ τὰς λύπας* are evidently taken (and spoiled by the omission of *οὐχ ὁμοίως*) from III. 10, § 1.

The reference at III. 6, § 2 may also be to II. 2, and proves nothing in favour of II. 7.

The only references to II. 7 are the following:—

III. 7, § 7, *εἴρηται δ' ἡμῖν ἐν τοῖς πρότερον ὅτι πολλά ἐστιν ἀνώνυμα.*

IV. 4, § 1, *καθάπερ ἐν τοῖς πρώτοις ἐλέχθη.*

IV. 4, § 3, *ὡς καὶ ἐν τοῖς πρώτοις ἐλέχθη.*

It can hardly be accidental that these three references are all parenthetical, and may be struck out without affecting the sense in the least; whereas the two other references, at III. 6, § 2, and III. 10, § 1, are indispensable to the context.

These arguments seem to show conclusively that II. 7 was composed after Books III and IV; and that, even if it should be thought that the difference of authorship is not established. It will be found, in fact, that not merely the substance but the language of II. 7 is taken servilely, clause by clause, from the longer discussion.

To this rule however there is an exception which leads to some important inferences.

The agreement between II. 7 and the discussion of the

Virtues in Book IV extends as far as the mention of *αἰδώς*, and then suddenly stops; the last words of II. 7, which answer to anything in Book IV, are *ἐπαινεῖται δὲ καὶ ὁ αἰδήμων* (§ 14). The account of the extremes answering to *αἰδώς*, with the whole doctrine of *νέμεσις*, announced in II. 7, are wanting in Book IV. Now if the summary of II. 7 is derived from the longer discussion — if it is not a 'programme' but a recapitulation—it follows that the writer had before him the missing conclusion of Book IV.

If, however, it is admitted that the last pages of Book IV are lost, a considerable *à priori* probability is gained for Sir A. Grant's theory of the Eudemian authorship of Books V—VII. We have seen the Nicomachean context fail; the burden of proof rests with those who tell us where it is resumed.

The reference in II. 7 to the discussion of Justice is very brief, but seems to point to something different from the existing Book V. The words are—*περὶ δὲ δικαιοσύνης, ἐπεὶ οὐχ ἁπλῶς λέγεται, μετὰ ταῦτα διελόμενοι περὶ ἑκατέρας ἐροῦμεν πῶς μεσότητές εἰσιν.* That is to say, 'we shall distinguish two senses of the word Justice, and show how each kind of Justice so distinguished is a mean state.' Instead of this, the two senses distinguished at the beginning of Book V are Universal and Particular Justice, whereas the two kinds to which the law of *μεσότης* is (somewhat differently) applied are Distributive and Corrective. Hence the passage of II. 7 seems to point to a Nicomachean Book V of somewhat simpler plan than the extant book. On the other hand it is possible that the writer of II. 7 has himself confused the plan of the book. The distinction of Universal and Particular Justice must be due to Aristotle himself.

D. B. MONRO.

THE LEGEND OF THE CHAPMAN OF SWAFFHAM CHURCH.

I GIVE the English form of this legend in the words of Sir Roger Twysden, as quoted in Blomefield's 'History of Norfolk,' 8vo. ed. Vol. VI. pp. 211—213.

"The north aisle of Swaffham Church is generally reported and believed to be built by John Chapman, a tinker of this town: the history of it I shall here transcribe from Sir Roger Twysden's Remembrances, MS. p. 299, published by our great antiquary, Mr Hearne of Oxford, and shall then give my opinion on it.

"The story of the Pedlar of Swaffham Market is in substance this[1]: 'That dreaming one night if he went to London, he should certainly meet with a man upon London Bridge, which would tell him good news; he was so perplext in his mind that till he set upon his journey he could have no rest; to London therefore he hastes, and walked upon the Bridge for some hours, where being espied by a shopkeeper and asked what he wanted, he answered, 'You may well ask me that question, for truly (quoth he) I am come hither upon a very vain errand,' and so told the story of his dream which occasioned the journey. Whereupon the shopkeeper replied, 'Alas, good friend, should I have heeded dreams I might have proved myself as very a fool as thou hast; for 'tis not long since that I dreamt that at a place called Swaffham Market, in Norfolk, dwells one John Chapman, a pedlar, who hath a tree in his back side, under which is buried a pot of money. Now, therefore, if I should have made a journey thither to dig for

[1] Tho. Caii Vindic. Antiq. Acad. Oxon., Vol. I. p. 84, Append.

such hidden treasure, judge you whether I should not have been counted a fool.' To whom the pedlar cunningly said, 'Yes, verily; I will therefore return home and follow my business, not heeding such dreams henceforward.' But when he came home (being satisfied that his dream was fulfilled), he took occasion to dig in that place, and accordingly found a large pot full of money, which he prudently concealed, putting the pot among the rest of his brass. After a time it happened that one who came to his house and beholding the pot, observed an inscription upon it, which being in Latin he interpreted it, that under that there was another twice as good[1]. Of this inscription the pedlar was before ignorant, or at least minded it not; but when he heard the meaning of it he said, ''Tis very true, in the shop where I bought this pot stood another under it which was twice as big;' but considering that it might tend to his further profit to dig deeper in the same place where he found that, he fell again to work and discovered such a pot as was intimated by the inscription, full of old coin; notwithstanding all which, he so concealed his wealth that the neighbours took no notice of it. But not long after the inhabitants of Swaffham resolving to re-edify their church, and having consulted the workmen about the charge, they made a levy, wherein they taxed the pedlar according to no other rate but what they had formerly done. But he knowing his own ability came to the church and desired the workmen to show him their model, and to tell him what they esteemed the charge of the north aisle would amount to; which when they told him, he presently undertook to pay them for building it, and not only that, but of a very tall and beautiful tower steeple.' This is the tradition of the inhabitants, as it was told me there. And in testimony thereof, there was then his picture, with his wife and three children, in every window of the aisle, with an inscription running through the bottom of all those windows, viz. 'Orate pro bono statu Johannis Chapman...Uxoris ejus, et

[1] The common tradition is, it was in English rhyme, viz.:

"Where this stood
Is another as good;"

Or as some will have it:

"Under me doth lie
Another much richer than I."

Liberorum suorum, qui quidem Johannes hanc alam cum fenestris tecto et...fieri fecit.'

"It was in Henry the Seventh's time, but the year I now remember not, my notes being left with Mr William Sedgwicke, who trickt the pictures, he being then with me. In that aisle is his seat, of an antique form, and, on each side the entrance, the statue of the pedlar of about a foot in length, with pack on his back, very artificially cut. This was sent me from Mr William Dugdale, of Blyth Hall, in Warwickshire, in a letter dated Jan. 29th, 1652—3, which I have since learned from others to have been most true.

"ROGER TWYSDEN."

Blomefield remarks that the story is to be found in Johannes Fungerus' "Etymologicon Latino-Græcum," pag. 1110, et 1111, where it is told of a man of Dort in Holland. Blomefield also adds that the north aisle of the church was certainly built by John Chapman, who was churchwarden in 1462; but he thinks that the figures of the pedlar, &c., were only put "to set forth the name of the founder; such rebuses are frequently met with on old works."

The story is also told in Abraham de la Pryme's diary (Nov. 10, 1699) as a "constant tradition" concerning a pedlar in Soffham, alias Sopham, in Norfolk.

As Fungerus' book is not a common one, I subjoin the passage to which Blomefield alludes; it occurs in the article *somnus*. The copy of the "Etymologicon Latino-Græcum" in the University Library bears the date 'Lugduni, 1607.'

"Rem quæ contigit patrum memoriâ ut veram ita dignam relatu, et sæpenumero mihi assertam ab hominibus fide dignis apponam. Juvenis quidam in Hollandia, Dordraci[1] videlicet, rem et patrimonium omne prodegerat, conflatoque ære alieno non erat solvendo. Apparuit illi quidam per somnium, monens ut se conferret Campos[2]: ibi in ponte indicium aliquem facturum, quid sibi, ut explicare se posset illis difficultatibus, instituendum foret. Abiit eo, cumque totum fere diem tristis et meditabundus deambulationem supra prædictum pontem

[1] Dort. [2] Kempen.

insumsisset, misertus ejus publicus mendicus, qui forte stipem rogans illic sedebat, *quid tu,* inquit, *adeo tristis?* Aperuit illi somniator tristem et afflictam fortunam suam, et qua de causa eo se contulisset. Quippe somnii impulsu huc se profectum, et exspectare Deum velut a machina, qui nodum hunc plus quam Gordium evolvat. At mendicus, *Adeone tu demens et excors, ut fretus somno, quo nihil inanius, huc arriperes iter? Si hujuscemodi nugis esset habenda fides, possem et ego me conferre Dordracum ad eruendum thesaurum sub cynosbato defossum horti cujusdam* (fuerat autem hic hortus patris somniatoris hujus,) *mihi itidem patefactum in somno.* Subticuit alter, et rem omnem sibi declaratam existimans rediit magno cum gaudio Dordracum, et sub arbore prædicta magnam pecuniæ vim invenit, quæ ipsum liberavit (ut ita dicam) nexu, inque lautiore fortuna, dissoluto omni ære alieno, collocavit."

We see by this extract that the story is one by no means confined to Norfolk, but equally current in Holland and probably elsewhere on the continent. It is evidently an old legend, located by popular fancy in several widely distant spots (just like that of Whittington and his cat), and it has only become connected with Swaffham as an attempt to explain the forgotten mystery of the figure of the chapman and his pack in the parish church.

Modern research has shown that a very large proportion of the popular legends of Europe can be traced in their oldest forms to the East, and especially to the early Buddhist writings, as fables and stories were continually used by the Buddhist teachers to illustrate and popularize their doctrines. I have not succeeded in tracing this at present to India or to a Buddhist source; but I have found it in the great Persian metaphysical and religious poem called the *Masnaví*, written by *Jaláluddín*, who died about A.D. 1260, and therefore it may very probably have come to him from a still more Eastern home.

I subjoin a translation of the legend as it appears in the *Masnaví*, only slightly compressing it, and omitting the long metaphysical and mystical digressions with which the author, *more suo*, continually interrupts the course of the story.

In his prose title prefixed to the chapter, he tells his readers that the man is sent to Cairo to learn that "a man's treasure is only to be sought in his own house, though he may have to go to Egypt to find it."

A certain heir in Baghdad possessed boundless wealth;
He wasted it all and was left destitute and forlorn.
(Hereditary wealth is never faithful,
For unwillingly it parted from him who is gone.)
When he became empty, he remembered God,
And began to say 'O God, look upon me;'
He said 'O God, thou gavest me wealth and it is gone;
O give me wealth again or send me death.'
And one night he saw a dream, and an angel's voice said to him,
'In Cairo shall thy wealth be found;
'In a certain place is a great treasure;
'Thou must go to Cairo in search for it.'
When from Baghdad he came to Cairo,
His back became hot as he saw the face of the country,
In his hope that the heavenly voice would prove true,
That so he might find a treasure there to banish his sorrow.
The voice had said that in a certain street in a certain place
A treasure of marvellous value lay buried.
But of provisions, little or much, he had none left;
And he began to beg of the common people.
But shame and spirit seized the hem of his garment,
And he began to gather himself up for endurance;
And then again his appetite fretted with hunger,
And he saw no escape from showing his want and begging.
At last he said 'I will go out softly at night,
'That in the darkness I may not feel shame at begging.
'Like a night-mendicant I will pray and beg,
'That they may throw me half a *dánk* from the roofs.'
In this thought he went out into the street,
With this intent he wandered hither and thither.
At one moment shame and honour stopped him,
At another hunger said to him 'beg.'
One foot forwards, one foot backwards, for a third of the night,

Saying, 'shall I beg or shall I lie down with parched lips?'
Suddenly a watchman seized him,
And angrily beat him with fist and stick.
By chance it had happened that in those dark nights
The inhabitants had been greatly vexed with robbers,
And the Caliph had said, 'Cut off that man's hand,
Whoever wanders abroad at night, though he were my own kinsman.'
And the minister had sternly threatened the watchmen,
'Why are ye so pitiful towards the robbers?'
It was at such a time that the watchman saw him and smote him,
With blows of stick and fist without number.
The poor man shrieked and cried aloud for help,
'Strike me not,' he said, 'that I may tell thee my true story.'
He answered, 'I have given thee a respite, speak on;
Tell me how thou hast come out by night.
Thou art not of this place, thou art a stranger and one unknown;
Tell me truly in what treachery art thou engaged.
The officers of the court have blamed the watchmen,
Saying, 'why are the thieves now so many?'
Their number is made up of thee and thy friends,
Disclose at once thy evil companions.
If not, I will take on thee the vengeance for all,
That the men in power may be no longer blamed.'
The other replied, after many oaths,
'I am no house-burner or purse-stealer;
I am no robber or lawless liver:
I am a stranger to Cairo—a man of Baghdad.'
Then he told the story of the dream and the hidden treasure of gold,
And the heart of the watchman opened at his truthfulness.
The heart is at rest in upright speech,
As a thirsty man finds rest in water.
He answered, 'thou art no thief or villain,
Thou art an honest man—only an owl and a fool.
For such a fancy and dream to take such a journey,

There is not a barley-corn's worth of reason in thy head.
Times upon times have I seen a dream,
That in Baghdad there is a treasure hidden,
Buried in such a street, in such a quarter,'
(And lo! that was the very street of this distressed one,)
'It is in such a house, go thou and find it,'
(And lo! the enemy mentioned his own name as that of the house,)
'Times upon times have I seen this dream,
That there is a treasure in a place in Baghdad;
But in spite of the vision I never stirred from my place,
And thou from a dream wilt only find weariness of foot.'
He said to himself, 'the treasure is in my own house;
Why then should I have poverty and sorrow here?
I have been dying of beggary on the top of a treasure,
Because I was in ignorance and behind a veil.'
At the good news he became drunk with joy and his pain was gone,
Silently he uttered a hundred times 'Praise to God.'
Back to Baghdad he returned from Cairo,
Making prostrations and bowings, and uttering thanks and praise;
All the way amazed and drunk with joy at the wonder,
At this reverse of fortune and strange journey of search.

E. B. COWELL.

MODERN GREEK BALLADS FROM CORSICA.

The village of Cargese, which is situated on a headland on the west coast of Corsica, about a day's journey north of Ajaccio, is still inhabited by a colony of Greeks, who have been settled in the island for two centuries. Their history is as follows. When the Turks had made themselves masters of Crete in 1669, they proceeded to attack the district of Maina in the south of the Morea, the central promontory that forms a continuation of Mt. Taygetus, and ends in Cape Matapan. The Mainotes from the strength of their mountain fastnesses have always been an independent race, and might even then have resisted successfully, had not one of the factions into which they were divided sided with the Turks and betrayed their country to them. When further resistance became impossible, one of their leaders, John Stephanopoulos, accepted an offer of the Genoese to provide them with a home in Western Europe, and emigrated by sea with a band of about 1000 souls, in the autumn of 1675. They were planted by the Genoese in Corsica, the object being to employ them as an outpost against the natives, who were always ready to rise against their foreign masters. One of the conditions required of them was, that they should acknowledge the supremacy of the Pope, but they were allowed to retain their own form of worship. At first they were established in a place called Paomia, a short distance from their present abode, but in 1731 they were forced to abandon that site, owing to repeated attacks on the part of the Corsicans, whose enmity they had incurred as partisans of the Genoese, and took refuge in Ajaccio. Subsequently, in 1774, when Corsica had passed into the hands of France, they were placed at Cargese, which

place they have occupied up to the present time, except during the period from 1790 to 1814, when their neighbours, taking the opportunity of the French revolution, again drove them out; and when they returned, a part of the colony preferred to remain behind in Ajaccio.

In the course of a journey in Corsica in the early part of 1872, I visited this remarkable community, which now consists of about 400 persons. The Greek that is spoken there, is almost identical with the ordinary Romaic of the mother country, the only perceptible difference being in the soft pronunciation of the gutturals, which, however, prevails throughout the islands of the Ægean. This is the language of the older inhabitants, though they speak Corsican with equal or greater readiness, but the younger generation are for the most part unacquainted with Greek, and seem to wish to ignore their nationality, as interfering with their advancement. One of them even said to me "We are not Greeks." The elders on the other hand shew great enthusiasm for anything Greek, and one remarked, that the old Greek dirges, which are sung at funerals, would move him to tears, while he was not at all affected by the modern Corsican ones. The French government for some years past has paid a sum equivalent to £25 a year to one of the priests of the village for teaching Romaic in the school, but, as he observed to me, this can do but little towards arresting the disuse of the language, as it is only taught for an hour a day. It is evident that the Greek of Cargese will soon be extinct. In the Church Services, however, it is retained, the old Greek service-books and evangelia which they brought over with them being still used, and the Greek rite observed, except in certain particulars. The dress of the priests also is that of the Greek Church. The names of the people are almost all Greek: thus my host at the inn was called Corfioti, and the ordinary Modern Greek terminations of names in *ακι* and *οπουλος* are the most usual. The most intelligent person whom I met there, was the priest already mentioned, Papa Michael Stephanopoulos; he spoke Greek fluently and well, though of course without the refinements which of late years have been introduced amongst the educated classes at Athens and Constantinople.

In the course of conversation with Papa Michael, I enquired whether any Greek popular songs existed at Cargese, and he at once recited to me fragments of several, one of which I recognized as corresponding to a ballad in Passow's *Popularia Carmina Graeciae recentioris.* Accordingly I requested him to collect and write down for me a number of such songs, stipulating that they should be only such as were still sung by the residents there. After the lapse of a month or two, he forwarded to me those which I now publish, written in Greek characters, often difficult to decipher, and with numerous mistakes of spelling, but generally intelligible. The spelling I have thought it better to correct, especially in the case of homophonous vowels and diphthongs, as otherwise the reader would find it a mass of confusion; but anything that appears like a real dialectic peculiarity, I have for the most part retained. After receiving them, I learned that a collection of ballads from Cargese had been published in the *Pandora* of Athens for December 1, 1864, by M. Pappadopoulos, who obtained them from a native of that village, who visited Athens. These comprise six ballads and fifty-seven distichs, and on comparing them with mine, I find that one of the ballads, viz., that entitled Ἡ *κακὴ μάνα*, and three of the distichs, are the same in both, but I have thought it worth while to print mine in full, because the differences in the two versions of the ballad are well worth comparing, shewing as they do that the versifying power is still, or has been until lately, alive among the people, for it is only orally that these songs are handed down, whether in Greece or elsewhere. Most of the poems that I give here have their counterpart in Passow's collection, a fact of great importance, because it implies that many of the Greek ballads are as much as 200 years old; for this colony seems to have been entirely cut off from communication with the mother-country, at all events until quite lately, and the character of the correspondences and differences between the songs from Corsica and those of Greece Proper, is such as clearly to shew that there has been no borrowing; besides which, the priest writes to me that they are compositions, "which the inhabitants of Cargese sing as dirges and ballads" (*ὁποῦ ἐδῶ οἱ ἐντόπιοι μυρολογοῦνται καὶ*

τραγουδοῦν). About one however I have some doubts, viz. No. 3, which appears to me too polished in style for an ancient poem. On the general characteristics of the Romaic ballads, I may be allowed to refer to the essay on the subject in my *Researches in the Highlands of Turkey* (Vol. II. p. 224).

1.

The Cruel Mother.

[This is the story of a youth, who is driven away from home by his mother's unkindness, and prophesies her distress when she hears of his death. It is sung as a dirge (μυρολόγιον), and is one of the most favourite Greek ballads, eight different specimens being given of it in Passow's collections (*Pop. Carm.* Nos. CCCXLIII—CCCL.). The present ballad presents resemblances to all of these, but does not correspond exactly to any of them. See also Pappadopoulos (No. 4) in *Pandora, ubi supra,* p. 416.]

Διώχνεις με, μάνα, διώχνεις με, κ' ἐγὼ μισέψω θέλω,
νὰ πάω νὰ βρῶ τὰ κάτεργα, τὰ πλέο ψηλὰ καράβια.
νὰ σταθῇς μήνας νὰ μ' ἰδῇς, χρόνους νὰ μοῦ μιλήσῃς,
ν' ἐρθῇ κ' ἡ σχολὴ τ' αἴ Γιοργιοῦ, ποῦ 'ν' πρώτη ἑορτὴ τοῦ χρόνου,
νὰ πᾷς καὶ μὲς [σ]τὴν ἐκκλησιὰν, νὰ 'μπῇς νὰ προσκυνήσῃς,
νὰ ἰδῇς τὸν τόπον μου εὔκαιρον καὶ τὸ στασίδι μου ἄδειον,
νὰ ἰδῇς καὶ τοὺς συντρόφους μου, πῶς παίζουν καὶ γελοῦνε.
τότε σε πάρ' ἡ πίκρα σου καὶ τὸ παράπονό σου,
νὰ πάρῃς τὸ στρατὶ στρατὶ, τ' ὡραῖο τὸ σταυροδρόμι·
θέλουν καοῦν τὰ μάτια σου, τηράζοντας τὴν στράταν,
θέλουν ψιθοῦν τὰ χείλια σου, ῥωτῶντας τοὺς διαβάταις.
διαβάταις ποῦ διαβαίνετε, τὴν στράταν ποῦ περνᾶτε,
μὴν εἴδετε 'νὰ καλὸ νεὸ, 'νὰ ὤμορφο στρατιώτη;
κ' οὐ τὸ εἶδα, κ' οὐ τὸ ἀπάντησα, ποῦθε νὰ τὸ γνωρίζω;
δός μου σημάδια τοῦ κορμιοῦ, ἔτζι καὶ τὸ γνωρίσω.
ὅτε περπάτα ἐχόρευε, κ' ὅτε ἔστεκε ἐτραγούδα,
κ' ἂν ἔμπαινε καὶ στὸν χορὸν, σὰν ἀϊδόνι ἀπέτα·
ψηλὸ λίγν' ἦτον στὸ κορμὶ, ἴσιο σὰν κυπαρίσσι,

κ' εἶχε καὶ κάστανο μαλλὶ, τὸ φρύδι σὰν γαϊτάνι,
εἶχε τὸ μάτι σὰν τροχὸν, καὶ τὸ στριφτοτζιλούφρι[1].
εἶχε στὸ δάκτυλο [ ][2] πανέριο δακτυλίδι
ποῦ 'λάμπε πλέο τὸ δάκτυλον παρὰ τὸ δακτυλίδι.
χθὲς βραδὺς 'μεῖς τὸ εἴδαμεν ['σ]τῆς Βαρβαριᾶς τὴν ἄμμον,
μαῦρα πουλιὰ τὸ τρώγανε, ἄσπρα τὸ τριγυρίζαν,
κ' ἕνα πουλὶ, καλὸ πουλὶ, δὲν ἤθελε νὰ φάγῃ.
φάγε, πουλὶ, καλὸ πουλὶ, ἀπ' ἀνδρειωμένου πλάτη,
νὰ κάμῃς πῆχυ τὸ φτερὸ καὶ πιθαμὴ τὴν πέννα,
νὰ γράψω στὴν φτεροῦκλα σου τρία χρυσᾶ γραμμάτζια,
ἕνα νὰ δῷς τῆς μάνας μου, κ' ἄλλο τῆς ἀδερφῆς μου,
τὸ τρίτον, τὸ στερνότερον, νὰ πᾷς τῆς ποθητῆς μου,
νὰ τὸ ἀναγνώνῃ ἡ μάνα μου, νὰ κλαίῃ ἡ ἀδερφή μου,
νὰ τὸ ἀναγνώνῃ ἡ ἀδερφὴ, νὰ κλαίῃ ἡ ποθητή μου,
νὰ τὸ ἀναγνώνῃ ἡ ποθητὴ, νὰ κλαίῃ ὁ κόσμος ὅλος.

Translation.

You drive me away, mother, you drive me away, and I shall depart—to go in quest of the ships, the tallest vessels—you will have to wait months before you see me, years before you speak to me—till the feast of St George arrives, which is the first festival of the year:—then go to the church, there enter for prayer—that you may see my place vacant and my seat empty—that you may see my companions how they sport and laugh.—Then your sorrow, then your grief will come upon you—so that you will betake yourself to the road, to the fair crossroad.—Your eyes will burn, as they look at the road—your lips will mutter, as they question the passers-by—"Ye travellers who pass by, who travel along the road—have ye seen a fair youth, a handsome soldier?"—"I have not seen him, I have not met him; how should I recognize him?—give me a description of his

[1] *στριφτοτζιλούφρι*. This word is not found in any dictionary, but a Greek gentleman informs me that it is a very rare expression for *cheveux bouclés*.

[2] There is evidently some omission here, as the line is imperfect: the corresponding line in Passow, No. cccl., line 13, is *εἶχε καὶ στ' ἀκροδάχτυλον πανώραιον δαχτυλίδι* (cf. cccxliv. 13, and cccxlv. 14).

person, so I shall recognize him."—"When he walked, he used to dance, when he stood still, he used to sing—and when he entered the dance, he would fly like a nightingale:—in person he was tall and slight, just like a cypress;—his hair was chestnut, his eyebrows like a band—his eyes like wheels and his hair curly;—on his finger he had a lovely ring,—but the finger outshone the ring."—"Last evening we saw him on the shore of Barbary;—black birds were feeding on him, white birds were flying round him—but one bird, one lovely bird, would not eat. —'Eat, thou bird, thou lovely bird, of the hero's shoulder—to make thy wings grow an ell, thy feathers a span;—that I may inscribe on thy wing three golden letters:—one for thee to give to my mother, another to my sister—the third, the strongest, for thee to take to my sweetheart:—that my mother may read it, and my sister may weep—that my sister may read it, and my sweetheart may weep—that my sweetheart may read it, and the whole world may weep.'"

2.

The Brigands.

[This is the story of a recognition. A young merchant falls into the hands of brigands, and is killed by their captain, who ultimately discovers that he is his brother, and then kills himself. There are two ballads on the subject in Passow (Nos. CCCCLXXXVII. and CCCCLXXXVIII.) entitled Οἱ Χαραμῆδες, "The Brigands," which closely correspond to this in the treatment of the subject, but present few resemblances in the wording, though here and there phrases and parts of lines are identical.]

Πραγματευτὴς κατέβαινε τὴν περιποταμίτζα·
ἀρχίζει ὁ νέος καὶ τραγουδᾷ, ἀρχίζει ὁ νέος καὶ λέγει,
δὲν εἶναι κλέφταις ποῦ ἀπερνῶ, δὲν εἶναι χαραμῆδες,
τὴν πραμματιὰ νὰ πάρουνε, κ' ἐμένα νὰ σκοτώσουν.
καὶ ἀκόμα ὁ λόγος ἔστεκε, καὶ ἡ συντηχὴ ἀποκράτει,
ἔσωναν οἱ κλέφταις ἔσωναν, καὶ οἱ χαραμῆδες φθάνουν,

τὴν πραμματιὰν ἐπήρανε κ' ἐμένα ἐσκοτώσαν·
πρῶτος τοῦ δίδει τὴν σπαθιὰ, ὁ ἄλλος τὴν κοντάρεα,
ὁ τρίτος ὁ στερνότερος τοῦ δίδει τὴν χαράζεα.
καὶ ὅποτε μ' ἐσκοτώσανε, πιαίνουν καὶ μὲ ῥωτοῦνε,
διὰ πές μας, πές μας, νεότζικε, ποῦθ' εἶν' τὰ γονικά σου;
κακὰ ζακόνια ποῦ 'χετε, τοῦ κόσμου οἱ ἀνδρειωμένοι,
τώρα ποῦ μὲ σκοτώσατε, πιαίνουν νὰ μὲ ῥωτοῦνε·
τώρα ποῦ μὲ τὸ εἴπατε, νὰ σὰς τὸ μαρτυρήσω·
ἡ μάνα μου στὰ γιάλινα[1] κ' ἀφέντης μου [στὴ πόλι][2]
κ' εἶχ' ἀδερφὸν ἀνδριανότερον καὶ τὸ 'πῆραν οἱ Τοῦρκοι,
τὰ γένεια νὰ σου λίπανε, 'λέγα πῶς ἤσουν κεῖνος.
σκύφτει σφιχταγκαλιάζει τὸ καὶ τὸ μοσχοφιλᾶτο,
καὶ ἀπὸ τὸ χέρι πιαίνει τὸ, καὶ στὸ γιατρὸ τὸ πάει·
γιατρὲ ποῦ γιάτρεψας πολλοὺς, γιάτρεψε καὶ τοῦτο.
'γὼ τὴν σπαθιὰ γιατρεύω τὴ, τὴν κονταρεὰ περνῶ τὴ,
τούτη τὴν μαυροχαραζιὰ γιατρεμὸν δὲν ἔχει.
χρυσὸ μαχαῖρι ἔβγαλε ἀπ' ἀργυρὸ φηκάρι,
στὸν οὐρανὸν τὸ ἐπέσταλε, στὸ στῆθος τοῦ τὸ βάλλει·
σύρε, ψυχή μου, στὸ καλὸ μαζὺ μὲ τ' ἀδερφό μου.

Translation.

A merchant went down by the river bank;—the youth began to sing, the youth began to say—"There are no klephts for me to meet, there are no robbers—to steal my goods and kill myself."—Hardly had he ended speaking and the sound of his words ceased—when they came, the Klephts came, and the robbers arrived;—they stole my goods and killed myself.—The first dealt him his sword, the next his lance,—the third, the strongest, gave him a stab.—And when they had wounded me to death, they proceed to ask me—"Come tell us, tell us, young fellow, whence do your parents come?"—"Bad customs are yours, ye heroes of the world—now that ye have killed me, to

[1] *στὰ γιάλινα*: this has no meaning, and is evidently the corruption of a proper name, perhaps *'Ιάννινα*: or perhaps the original was *στὸ Γαλατᾶ*, corresponding to *ἀπ' τὸ Γαλατᾶ* in Passow ccccl xxxvii. 23.

[2] The conclusion of the same line in Passow is *ὁ κύρης μου ἀφ' τὴ Πόλι.*

proceed to question me:—so now that ye have mentioned it, come let me declare it to you.—My mother lives in Galata, my father in Constantinople;—and I had a very brave brother, but he was carried off by the Turks:—were it not for your beard, I should say that you were he."—He bent down, he clasped him closely, and kissed him tenderly—then took him by the hand, and led him to a physician.—"Physician, as you have healed many, heal also this man."—"The sword I can heal it, the lance I can cure it;—but this dreadful stab can not be cured."—He drew his golden sword from its silver scabbard;—he raised it aloft to heaven, then thrust it in his breast.—"Depart, my soul, with a blessing, along with my brother."

3.

[Compare Passow: No. DCXXXVI.]

εἰς ὥραιον περιβολάκι μετ' ἄνθη στολισμένο
μίαν ταχινὴ διαβαίνω νὰ παραγορηθῶ,
γυρίζω, τριγυρίζω μὲς τὸ περιβολάκι,
καὶ τ' ἄνθη ποῦ μ' ἀρέσουν στέκομαι καὶ θεωρῶ·
βλέπω καὶ μία βρύση κάτω σὲ κυπαρίσσι,
ποῦ 'πότιζε τὰ δένδρα μὲ τὸ κρυὸ νερό·
καὶ ἀπάνω στὸ κλονάκι κάθεται 'νὰ πουλάκι,
κάθεται 'νὰ πουλάκι καὶ γλυκοκελαδεῖ.

In a fair garden adorned with flowers—one morning I walk to refresh myself;—I walk up and down within the garden—and stop to look at the flowers I am fond of:—I see too a spring at the foot of a cypress—which watered the trees with its cool stream:—and upon a branch a bird was sitting—a bird was sitting, and sweetly sang.

4.

[Compare Passow: No. DLX., which however is less graceful than the one here given.]

κάτω στὴν ἄμμο σὲ ῥημονῆσι
ἀετὸς ἐβγῆκε νὰ κυνηγήσῃ·
δὲν κυνηγάει λαγὼς καὶ ἀλάφια,
μὸν κυνηγάει τὰ μαῦρα μάτια.
μαῦρά μου μάτια καὶ πλουμισμένα,
καὶ πῶς κοιμᾶστε χωρὶς ἐμένα;
'γὼ δὲν κοιμοῦμαι μήτε νυστάζω,
μὸν σ' ἐνθυμοῦμαι κ' ἀναστενάζω.

Down by the shore of the desert-island—an eagle went out to the chace;—he does not hunt hares or stags;—the object of his chace is dark eyes.—O sweet dark eyes, so rich and rare,—say, how can ye sleep away from me?—I cannot sleep nor slumber—but I think of you and lament.

5.

ῥίξε νερὸ στὴν πόρτα σου νὰ πέσω νὰ γλυστρήσω,
νὰ βρῶ ἀφορμὴ τῆς μάνας σου ν' ἀμβῶ νὰ σὲ φιλήσω.

Spill water at your door, that I may slip and fall;—so that I may find an excuse to your mother for going up to kiss you.

6.

[Compare Pappadopoulos; Nos. 6, 7, and 44.]

(*a*)

ἐμένα ἡ θυγατέρα μου εἶναι ἥλιος καὶ φεγγάρι,
κ' ἂν τὴν ἰδῇς, κακόμοιρε, γίνεσαι δημονιάρη.

My daughter is the sun and moon;—and if you see her, luckless man, you will lose your senses.

(*b*)

καὶ δημονιάρης νὰ γενῶ καὶ τὰ κλαδιὰ[1] *νὰ πάρω,*
τὴν θυγατέρα σου ἀγαπῶ καὶ θὲ νὰ τήνε πάρω.

Well, if I do lose my senses and take to the forests,—as I love your daughter, I intend to carry her off.

(*c*)

κρέμασε ταὶς πλεξίδες[2] *σου ὄξου στὸ παναθύρι,*
νὰ κάμω σκάλα ν' ἀνεβῶ νὰ σὲ φιλῶ στὰ χείλη.

Hang down your braids outside the window—for a ladder for me to climb by, that I may kiss your lips.

[1] I have followed Pappadopoulos' translation, who renders this by *νὰ φύγω εἰς τὰ δάση*. I had myself supposed *κλαδιὰ* to stand for *κλειδιά*, and should have translated, "yet if I get the keys," which gives better sense.

[2] *πλεξίδες*, for *πλεξούδας*, 'plaits of hair.' The idea of scaling a wall or tower by the help of a witch's hair is found in some Popular Tales.

H. F. TOZER.

ARISTOT. METAPH. I. 1, § 6.

γίνεται δὲ τέχνη, ὅταν ἐκ πολλῶν τῆς ἐμπειρίας ἐννοημάτων μία καθόλου γένηται περὶ τῶν ὁμοίων ὑπόληψις. τὸ μὲν γὰρ ἔχειν ὑπόληψιν ὅτι Καλλίᾳ κάμνοντι τηνδὶ τὴν νόσον τοδὶ συνήνεγκε καὶ Σωκράτει καὶ καθ' ἕκαστον οὕτω πολλοῖς, ἐμπειρίας ἐστίν· τὸ δ' ὅτι πᾶσι τοῖς τοιοῖσδε κατ' εἶδος ἓν ἀφορισθεῖσι, κάμνουσι τηνδὶ τὴν νόσον, συνήνεγκεν, οἷον τοῖς φλεγματώδεσιν ἢ χολώδεσιν ἢ πυρέττουσι καύσῳ, τέχνης.

According to the received text the words *τοῖς φλεγματώδεσι ἢ χολώδεσιν ἢ πυρέττουσι καύσῳ* designate *εἴδη τινὰ νοσούντων* (Berlin Index, s. v. *φλεγματώδης*): so that, whereas *ἐμπειρία* determines that a particular medicine is beneficial to Callias and Socrates when they are suffering from a particular disorder, *τέχνη* determines that a particular medicine is beneficial to all persons who are suffering from a particular disorder, the words *κάμνουσι τηνδὶ τὴν νόσον* being explanatory of *τοῖς τοιοῖσδε κατ' εἶδος ἓν ἀφορισθεῖσι.* But is this the distinction which Aristotle wishes to make? and is not the use of the adjectives *φλεγματώδεσιν* and *χολώδεσιν* to indicate persons in diseased states very strange? Rather, I think, *ἐμπειρία* determines that a particular remedy suits *Callias and Socrates* when they are suffering from a particular known disorder: *τέχνη* on the other hand determines that a particular remedy suits *persons of a particular habit* (*τοῖς τοιοῖσδε*), when they are suffering from a particular known disorder (*κάμνουσι τηνδὶ τὴν νόσον*). Thus the phrase *κάμνουσι τηνδὶ τὴν νόσον* does not explain *τοῖς τοιοῖσδε*, but corresponds exactly to *κάμνοντι τηνδὶ τὴν νόσον* in the earlier part of the sentence. The parallelism having been so far complete, it is reasonable to expect that it will be

maintained in the exemplificatory clause introduced by *οἷον*. Now *πυρέττουσι καύσῳ* exactly corresponds to *κάμνουσι τηνδὶ τὴν νόσον*. Hence in order to obtain the required sense it is only necessary *to omit the ἢ which at present precedes πυρέττουσι*. *Οἷον τοῖς φλεγματώδεσιν ἢ χολώδεσι πυρέττουσι καύσῳ* will then mean—'for example to persons of phlegmatic or bilious habits when they are suffering from the fever called *καῦσος*.' Cf. Nic. Eth. x. 9, § 21. *οὐ γὰρ φαίνονται οὐδ' ἰατρικοὶ ἐκ τῶν συγγραμμάτων γίνεσθαι. καίτοι πειρῶνταί γε λέγειν οὐ μόνον τὰ θεραπεύματα, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὡς ἰαθεῖεν ἂν καὶ ὡς δεῖ θεραπεύειν ἑκάστους, διελόμενοι τὰς ἕξεις*. On this principle the sanitary effects of particular kinds of weather are considered in the Problemata (I. 9—12, p. 860), as they affect *φλεγματώδεις* and as they affect *χολώδεις*. So too Galen (ed. Kühn) x. 651 regards the study of the patient's temperament as a condition of artistic, as opposed to empirical, treatment. In the concise statement of the Rhetoric, I. 2, p. 1356 *b* 28, misunderstanding is hardly possible.

HENRY JACKSON.

ON A MS. OF THE NICOMACHEAN ETHICS. (*Cambridge University Library*, Ii. v. 44.)

In a recent work upon the Nicomachean Ethics Prof. Rassow has shewn the necessity of a more careful and comprehensive examination of the MSS. than any which has been hitherto attempted. I wish that I were as hopeful as he seems to be of the result of such an examination: but in any case it is reasonable that those who have an ancient MS. at hand should endeavour to ascertain its history and to determine its value. It is something gained if it can be shewn that the further study of a given MS. is unnecessary.

In the University Library of Cambridge there is a MS. (Ii. v. 44) containing the Magna Moralia, the Nicomachean Ethics, the Eudemian Ethics, and the Œconomica, written (as the note at the end informs us) by the hand of Nicolaus, *εὐτελοῦς ἀναγνώστου τῶν ὡρῶν, αἰτήσει τοῦ θεοτιμήτου μοναχοῦ κυρίου Ἰακώβ, σκευοφύλακος μάνδρας ἀκρωτηρίου μηνὶ Ἰουνίου ις, ἰνδ. β, ἔτει ϛψπζ, i.e.* A. D. 1279. The MS., which formerly belonged to Bishop More, was known to Wilkinson, who in his edition of the Nicomachean Ethics (Oxford, 1716) occasionally cites it as El, *i.e.* Eliensis. It is also mentioned in the prolegomena of Zell, who is acquainted with it only through Wilkinson's citations, and complains that the latter has neither described the MS. nor given a collation sufficient to enable others to form an opinion of its worth. Of its externals there is an account in the printed catalogue of the MSS. belonging to the library. It is, according to Prof. Churchill Babington by whom this part of the catalogue was prepared,

"A moderate-sized quarto, on vellum, of 147 leaves, each page containing about 26 lines, written in a cursive hand of the latter part of the thirteenth century, abounding with contractions. Various ornaments and other parts of the MS. are rubricated, and numerous remarks in later hands (Greek and Latin) occur throughout the volume. From fol. 81—90 the MS. is written in a different hand, which appears to belong to the fifteenth century." Catalogue of MSS. University Library of Cambridge. Vol. III. p. 495.

The lacuna of which Prof. Babington speaks in the concluding sentence of the above extract occurs in Nic. Eth. VIII. ch. 4—12 (according to Bekker's parenthetical numeration). The original hand continues to the bottom of the second page of fol. 85, *i.e.* the fifth leaf of the quire, which ends with ὁ δὲ θερα-. Then come the leaves numbered by Prof. Babington 86—89, which however, as Mr. Bradshaw pointed out to me, do not belong to the original quire, but have been subsequently inserted. The later hand in which these four leaves are written does not end with the page, but is continued throughout the first four lines of the leaf numbered by Prof. Babington fol. 90, which is in fact the sixth leaf of the original quire. On a closer examination however it becomes evident that of these four lines rather more than two and a half are written over an erasure, ἡδύ being the last of the words erased. Plainly these lines are identical with something more than the first two lines of the first interpolated leaf. It would appear then that in the MS. copied by the earlier scribe there was a lacuna beginning not at the point reached at the end of fol. 85, but some two lines and a half further on. Accordingly he left a line and a half blank to indicate the deficiency, and then continued with the words μᾶλλον δ' ἴσασιν οἱ γονεῖς (12 § 2) which stood next in the MS. before him. The missing pages were supplied at a later period, apparently by the same scribe who has throughout the Nic. Eth. collated the text of El with that of some MS. less closely related to K^b, intoducing into the former frequent corrections and alterations. Finding at the top of the sixth leaf of the original quire some two lines and

a half which it was necessary to erase, together with the line and a half left blank, the later scribe has made use of the space thus afforded, and has so accurately estimated the amount of matter which it was necessary to introduce that he has been able, by 'spacing' in the last line, exactly to fill the gap.

Now in the library of the Vatican there is a MS. of the three Ethical treatises and the Œconomics, described as 'Vaticanus 1342' and called by Bekker P^b. It is contained in a volume resembling in size and shape a modern octavo, and is very closely written with many contractions in a hand not unlike that of the Cambridge MS. In the middle of the second page of fol. 76 the old hand disappears and is not resumed till fol. 82. The new hand is of a much later date. The inserted portion begins in the sentence *οἱ δὲ μὴ τὸ ἡδὺ ἀντικαταλλαττόμενοι ἀλλὰ τὸ χρήσιμον, κ.τ.λ.*, after *ἀντι-*, and ends with the words *ὡς ἀπ' ἐκείνων τι ὄντα*, a blank being left at the end of fol. 81. Thus the lacuna in this MS. is coextensive with that in the Cambridge MS., except that in the latter the *ἀντι-* of the unfinished *ἀντικαταλλαττόμενοι* has been omitted. It would appear then that these MSS., El and P^b, are intimately related, both being descended from the same imperfect MS. But what is the nature of their relationship? That P^b is not descended from El seems to be indicated by the fact that the *ἀντι-* of *ἀντικαταλλαττόμενοι* is retained in the former but not in the latter, and is proved abundantly by internal evidence. Of the remaining hypotheses, (1) that El is descended from P^b, and (2) that P^b and El are related through a common ancestor, I am inclined to prefer the former. A collation of the fifth book, which I have made in the hope that these MSS. might throw light upon some of its difficulties, shews that in this part of the work P^b and El agree in differing from all Bekker's MSS. (K^b, L^b, M^b, O^b) in fifty-nine places exclusive of differences of spelling, &c. My list includes additions and omissions of words and clauses, transpositions, and one or two strange perversions; in fact considerable deviations from the ordinary text. On the other hand, the discrepancies between P^b and El are unimportant and precisely such as the writer of

El might originate in copying from P^b. Of the thirty-five cases in which El deviates from P^b, fifteen are false spellings mostly due to confusion of vowels; five are trifling omissions, and seven trifling additions (δέ, τά, οὖν, καὶ four times), not countenanced by any of Bekker's MSS.; three are corrections of obvious blunders in P^b; three are unauthorized variants which give as good a sense as the text of P^b and the other MSS., but not a better one; finally, one is the omission, with O^b, of a τό, and one the addition, with M^b, of a καί[1]. A cursory comparison of a small part of the Eudemian Ethics as presented by El with Bekker's collation of P^b gives similar results.

On the whole my impression is that P^b is the very MS. from which El was copied. However this may be, there can be no doubt of its superior value. In fact El contains nothing which is not to be found in P^b in a more trustworthy form. On the other hand, it seems to me that P^b is a MS. of some importance, inasmuch as it bears a greater resemblance than any of Bekker's MSS. of the Nic. Eth. to the valuable Laurentian codex known as K^b. If I am not mistaken, P^b and K^b are connected not by direct descent, but through a common ancestor, so that the former may occasionally enable us to recover readings from which the latter has diverged. It should at any rate be collated in X. 5 § 9 sqq., where K^b has a considerable lacuna.

HENRY JACKSON.

[1] My thanks are due to Signor Guidi, who, at the request of Prof. Swainson, has kindly verified for me several of the foregoing statements.

NOTES BY THE LATE PROFESSOR T. H. KEY.

1. *Luscinia.* 2. *locus.* 3. *redantruare,* or *redamptuare,* or what?

1. Adelung in his dictionary under *Nachtigalle* has: "Lat. Luscinia von Lux und canere, weil er bey Licht singt;" and anything that Adelung says is entitled to consideration. That the syllable *cin* of *luscinia* should represent *can* of *canere* is consistent with what is seen in *fidicina*; nor can there be a valid objection to the presence of an *s* or the absence of *c* at the close of the initial syllable. First, as regards the *s*, the analogy of *aquaeductus, iurisdictio*, etc., justifies the assumption that a genitive may well enter into such formations. Whether *agrimensor, agricultura,* etc., had a long *i*, it would be difficult to decide by authority, as they are not likely to occur often in poetry; and if an instance is found, an editor can print the words *divisim*, as: Nauigia atque agri culturas moenia leges, Lucr. 5, 1448. But a long *i* would be required, if, as seems probable, we have a genitive in the first element. Again, the second syllable of *regifugium* in the line of Ausonius: Nec regifugium pulsis ex urbe tyrannis, has its best explanation in the earlier existence of a fuller *regisfugium.* Precisely in the same way E. *whalebone,* now a disyllable, had at first a longer form, as seen in Shakspere's "as white as whale's bone" (Love's labour's lost, 5, 2). Similarly Chaucer (v. 16565 of Tyrwhitt's ed.) wrote and pronounced *beddissyde* in preference to *bedside. Jurisconsultus* again, and *iurisperitus* were in use as well as the more familiar forms *iureconsultus* and *iureperitus.* Although the disappearance of the genitival *s* led eventually in many words to the loss of a whole syllable; still intermediate forms frequently present

themselves. *Vineyard* for example is now a disyllabic word; but Shakspere (Tempest 4, 1) writes:

> thy poleelipp'd vĭnĕyard
> And thy sea marge, steril and rócky-hard.

In the Gr. nouns *ιχθυοφαγος, οφρυοσκιος, βοτρυοδωρος, φυσιολογος, οφιοπους*, the *o* could not be wanted as a 'Bindevokal,' but was in place as the weakened representative of a fuller *ος*. But the very word *Nachtigalle*, as compared with E. *night-ingale* tells the same tale of corruption, for the syllable *in* for *en* of the latter represents a Teutonic suffix of like power; and a parallel is seen in the successive forms *G. Sonnentag*, Chaucer's *Sónĕday*, and the existing *Sontag* and *Sunday*, i.e. *Solis dies*. So too the Dan. *natt-er-gal* Swed. *näkt-er-gal* have in the *er* what points to a similar explanation, when we call to mind the Norse genitives in *ar*. Lastly in the name *Βοσπορος*, if standing, as commonly supposed, for *Βοοσ-πορος* the *σ* of the case is retained, while the *o*, that should have preceded it, has passed away; and strangely enough our own geographical term which seems at least to be a literal translation of it, viz. *Ox-ford*, once possessed the suffix in full, *Ox-en-ford*. Some indeed hold that *ox-* in this word has a different origin, but there still remains the fact that the older name had a genitival suffix.

Let us assume then that *luscinia* is compressed from *lucis-cin-ia*; so that with the loss of the genitival *i* we should be brought to *lucscinia;* but the harsh combination of consonants *csc* would inevitably be followed by the suppression of the first *c*, as *sescenti* for *sex-centi, escendo* for *ec-scendo, disco* for *dic-sco*, *διδασκω* for *δι-δακ-σκω*. Nay *αλωπηξ*, where we have only a *κσ*, would not have been written with an *η*, but that the *κ* of *ξ* was silent. So too when Diomedes (p. 430 Keil's ed.) tells us that *lux* had a circumflex accent, it is implied that it was sounded like the E. *loose* or *lose*.

In form then no sound objection can be taken to Adelung's derivation; but against his explanation, "weil er bey Licht singt," the mind revolts, as utterly opposed to the fact, with which the Teutonic *nachtigalle* and *nightingale* are thoroughly consistent. Hence I look elsewhere for an interpretation of the first syllable of *luscinia;* and think that I find a step to-

wards a satisfactory solution of the difficulty in a comparison of two passages from Latin authors, one from Aelius, as quoted by Festus (173 A, l. 21 Müller), the other from the digests 21, 1, 10, 4. The words of Aelius are: *nusciciosum*...qui plus uideret uesperi quam meridie; while Ulpian writes: *Luscitionem* eam esse quidam putant, ubi homo lumine adhibito nihil uidet. Here one writer gives us an adjective, the other a substantive; but Festus in the same passage quotes *nusciciones* from another author; and Plautus (Mil. 2, 3, 50) has the adj. *luscitiosus*. Thus it is beyond a doubt that *luscitio* and *nuscitio*, *luscitiosus* and *nuscitiosus* coexisted; and the change of liquid is what is familiar to us in *lympha* and *nympha*, in λιτρον and νιτρον; while the disease is simply what we see in the albino, and is well expressed in Galen by the term νυκταλ-ωψ, 'seeing by night only.' The Lat. adj. *luscus* must of course be of kin with these; and in fact there is a close similarity of ideas between one who has but half the use of his eyes through the defect of the albino, and one who has but half a sight from the loss of an eye. *Luscus* then must be for *nuscus*, which I would deduce from *nucis-ŏc-us* where *oc* is the stem of *oculus* = ωπ of ωψ. It may be as well to note that the Gr. νυχα and νυχιος have the desired vowel, and at the same time are without the *t*. All this admitted, it is an easy assumption, that *luscinia* superseded a lost *nuscinia*, and this a more genuine *nuc-is-cin-ia;* which corresponds in the three parts with *night-in-gale*. The last syllable of this Adelung, no doubt with reason, identifies with the old Teutonic *Gall Gällen* 'singen.' Lastly the change from *n* to *l* in the initial of *luscinia* was probably aided by the presence of an *n* in the latter part of the word, an instance of which principle is seen in the L. festival *Lemuria*, as standing, according to Ovid for *Remuria* from *Remus*[1].

2. The noun *locus*[2] has a striking likeness, setting aside

[1] The Fr. *rossignol* is admitted to be a representative of *luscinia* or rather of a diminutival *lusciniolus*, and so also is one with *nightingale*. Can words be more utterly unlike?

[2] I have just heard that I have been anticipated as to the etymology here claimed for *locus;* that in fact it has been considered and finally rejected by Corssen, etc., and this chiefly on the ground that the root *sta-* never gives up its final vowel. This point

the first letter, to the Gr. τοπος of the same power—can they be related, and whence are they derived? I answer that they are both derivatives from the same root, that of *sisto, sto* and ἱστημι. This will strike people at first sight as utterly paradoxical; but Quintilian's statement that older forms of *locus*, and *lis* were *stlocus* and *stlis*—the latter assertion being confirmed by the occurrence of *slis* in inscriptions, as in Mommsen's Corp. Insc. Lat., *sl* for *slitibus* (38), and *slis* (198, 7)—removes most of the difficulty. Now *stlocus* with its fearful collection of consonants must once have had a fuller form, something like *stelocus* or *stolocus*, which brings us near to the Gr. vb. στελλω 'set or place,' and the G. vb. *stell-en* and sb. *Stelle* identical in power with *locus*. The E. *stead* also, whence *instead*, = G. *an... Stelle*, must be of the same stock, and if so *stand* and *stood* likewise. But this brings us into immediate connection with *sto*, etc. We are often told that *sta-* is an ultimate root. To this however there are several objections. The fact that *stare* denotes a state, and not an act, is in my view fatal to the doctrine; and anyone, who compares *sisto* with *gigno* γιγνομαι πιπτω μιμνω, will at once see, that *sisto* is a reduplicate verb, = *si-set-o*, of which *set* is the root; and that *s(e)t-a-re* owes its static notion exclusively to the added *a*, precisely as *cub-a-re* does compared with *cumb-ere* of *recumbere*, etc. If this be right, it follows that στελλω stands for σετ-ελλω, in which ελ is but a suffix. In support of this last point I would refer to several examples of verbs so formed. 1. σκελλω, 'to dry,' which I connect with the L. *siccus*—2. κ-ελλω, which Liddell and Scott justly regard as one with the L. *pello*, referring to the Homeric νηα κελσαι, and the L. *appellere* (*navem*).—But here we have the awkward result that κ. alone is left for the stem—a difficulty at once removed however by the form οκ-ελλω of identical power; and this of course requires that an older form of the L. verb was *op-ello*. It will be seen presently that not a few Greek verbs have lost an initial aspirate, and that such aspirate has grown out of a sibilant. If such has been the fate of the

however is already treated of in my remarks, in which the title of *sta-* to the name of a root is denied and the *a* held to be an independent suffix. Hence I leave the paper as it was.

present verb, it may be that we have the same root in the E. *shove* of like power and the Germ. *schieben* ge-*schob-en*—3. *οφ-ελλω* 'help,' which, in the view of the two authors just quoted, is of the same root with the initial syllable of the L. *opus est*, and so of the L. *opem fero;* 4. *οφ-ελλω* 'sweep,' for which I would claim an initial aspirate, lost through the influence of the following *φ* (as in *εχω*), and that again the relic of an *s* (again as in *εχω*), so that the root was for Greek *σοφ*. When the L. *uerro* 'sweep' is compared with this Gr. vb., we find an identity of meaning, and in the *erro* what may well represent the Gr. *ελλω*. This suggests older forms *ou-erro*, and *sou-erro*. Looking to the usual interchange of a Gr. *φ* with a Latin *b*, I should have preferred a form *sob-erro*, which however differs but in a slight degree from *sou-erro;* and then the roots *σοφ* of Greek and *sob* of Latin would naturally take for English the from *sweep*[1]—5. *οφ-ελλω*, as well as *οφειλω* 'owe.' Already there is much similarity; and still closer would this be, if, comparing *οφις* and *εχις*, Flora and Χλωρις, we could believe an older form of the present verb to have been *οχ-ελλω*, which in its consonant under Rask's law would duly correspond with the A.-Sax. *ag-an*, whence our vb. *owe*.—6. *βδ-ελλω*, given by Hesychius, and the source of the adj. *βδελ-υρος*. Already the form *βδεω* is sufficient to prove that we have only a suffix in the *ελλω*. I hold then that *βδ-ελλω* stands for *πεδ-ελλω*, so as to be a frequentative of a lost *πεδω* = L. *pedo;* for as soon as the *ε* of the stem vanished, the *π* being then in immediate connection with *δ* would of necessity give place to a thick labial. To all this I would further add that diminutival verbs with a frequentative power are in other languages often found with a suffix = *ελ*, as L. *conscribillo, sorbilo, ventilo, ustulo, cavillor;* E. *gamble, gambol, sparkle, tickle, whirl.*

The *el* then of my theoretic *set-el-oc-us* can cause no further difficulty; and it remains to deal with the next syllable, *oc*. Had the word belonged to our own language I might at once have claimed this as a diminutival suffix, as seen in *bull-ock hill-ock*, etc.; and the Greek *ακ* of *μυ-ακ, ὑρ-ακ*, etc., differs from this but little in sound, and has precisely the same power.

[1] Cf. *ἁδ-υς*, sweet.

The Latin language again, though it seems at first sight to give a preference to the varieties *ec* and *ic*, as *mur-ex, sor-ex* corresponding to the Greek nouns just quoted, and *foll-ic-ulus, nau-ic-ula, ret-ic-ulum*, yet in old times employed for the same purpose the syllable *uc*. Thus the familiar *acicula geniculum* are proved to have superseded older varieties *acucula genuculum* by the very fact that they are deduced from *acu-* and *genu-;* and this is confirmed by the *u* of the Fr. *aiguille*, Port. *agulha* and the E. *knuckle*. But I go a step further. I have elsewhere given my reasons for the belief that L. neuters in *um* of the *o* declension have in this *um* a corruption from an older *oc*, just as we have *bott-om* by the side of *butt-ock*; and again to the L. *pluma* correspond the three English terms, *fluff, flock* (as in *flock-bed*) and *flue;* and hence it is that L. adjectives deduced from neuters in *um* reproduce the guttural, as *sebum sebac-eus, hordeum hordeac-eus*. Thus *set-ol-oc-us* I hold to contain two, perhaps three, suffixes of diminution, and to have had for its original meaning 'that little bit of ground on which one stands;' so that the Germ. *stand-punkt*, had it retained its first physical meaning, would have well represented the idea. It may be useful too to note that in our adopted phrase *locus standi*, we have the two ideas brought together.

3. Festus (270 B. 32 Müll.) has the following:

Redantruare dicitur in Saliorum exultationibus, cum praesul ampiruavit†, quod est, motus edidit, ei referuntur invicem idem motus. Lucilius: "praesul ut ampiruet, inde vulgus redamplavit at †." Pacuvius: "Proaererenda† gratia: simul cum videam Graios nihil mediocriter redamptruare, opibusque summis persequi."

To this there is appended in 'emendations:' 1. quod cum pr. amptruavit, 2. amptruat inde: ita volgus redamptruat ollim, 3. Promerenda.

That the passage is fearfully corrupt is of course evident; but some of the corrections seem not very satisfactory. Let us see if a better view can be taken. Now first of all it is clear that the four varieties, 1 *antrua-*, 2 *ampirua-*, 3 *ampla*, 4 *amptrua-*, must have proceeded from some common form; and as *ampirua-* occurs twice, and *amptrua-* differs from it very

slightly, it has clearly the first claim upon our attention. But more than this, Ampiruare suggests what is to my mind a satisfactory origin for itself. I have elsewhere drawn attention to an Umbrian preposition *ampr* or *ambr*, as occurring in the inscriptions edited by Aufrecht and Kirchhoff, *ampr-ehtu* = *ambito* (p. 142, l. 11), *ambr-etuto* = *amb-eunto* (142, l. 22) etc.; and I have urged that this preposition is in fact a comparatival form of the familiar *am* 'round;' and indeed itself enters into the formation of *amfr-actus* equal in power to *circum-actus;* and lastly that it corresponds to *αμφ-ις*, itself a comparative. I would therefore translate *empirua-re* by the words "to make a pirouette." Nay as this Fr. word stands I believe without an etymon, I would ask whether it may not be deduced by decapitation from the word before us. But independently of my comparative *amper*, I would offer the alternative of deducing *ampiruare* from *am-ped-uare*, from *ped-* 'foot.'

It remains to see how far the suggested form fits in with the passages quoted by Festus. Premising that *inde* in the old language was then cut down to a monosyllable (perhaps *in*), as *deinde*, *proinde*, to *dein*, *proin*, and what should have been *utrinde-que* to *utrinque* (cp. Ter. Ph. 4, 3, 76: Inde súmam: uxori tíbi opus esse díxero); and further that such a pronunciation may well be admissible for Lucilius, I would suggest as a possible reading: "cum uiderit ipse Praesul ut ampiruet, inde (pronounced as *in*) uolgu' redampiruabit, where the *b* alone in place of *v* differs from the text of Festus. It is true that I have dropped the *at*. Perhaps however, this was intended as a correction of the last syllable of *ampiruet*, and this would give us: Praesul ut ampiruat, inde u. r.; and so render unnecessary the three words I have prefixed. Then for Pacuvius we should have

Prómerenda grátia.
Simúl cum uideam Gráios nil mediócriter
Redámpiruare opibúsque summis prósequi.

i. e. $2\frac{1}{2}$ lines of good Senarii; with an acceptable metaphor.

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Univ. Coll., Lond.,
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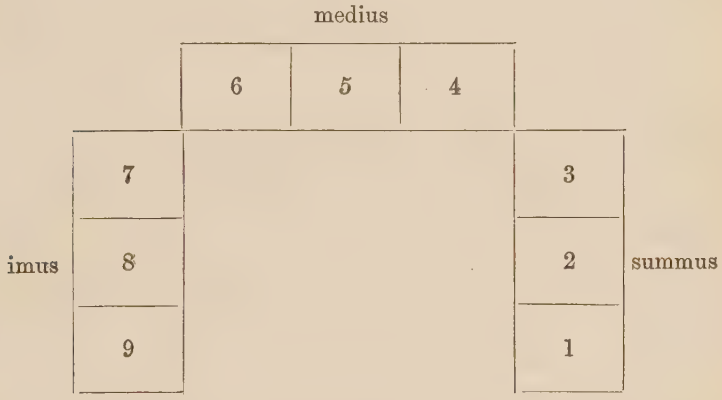
ON THE POSITION OF THE GUESTS AT A ROMAN DINNER TABLE.

THERE are several contradictions in the accounts given of the position of the guests at a Roman dinner by Yates (Smith, Dict. of Ant. s. v. Triclinium), Rich (Dict. of Gr. and Rom. Ant. s. v. Lectus Tricliniaris), and Andrews (Lat. Dict. s. v. accumbo). All agree as to the order of the couches and of the places on each couch as in the diagram



each of the numbers 3, 6 and 9 being designated by Yates and Rich as imus on their respective couches, by Andrews as ultimus. Again it is agreed that the lectus medius was the most honourable, but the most honourable seat on it is, according to Yates, No. 4, according to Rich, No. 6, according to Andrews, No. 5, though he says that No. 6 was usually occupied by the consul or other magistrate, if present, that he might be able to attend without trouble to any official business that might occur. Moreover, according to Yates, the host usually occupied

No. 8 as a convenient (?) place for giving directions, while Andrews assigns No. 7 to him, as does Rich. On each couch the most honourable place was the middle according to Yates and Andrews, the former allowing that an exception may be made in the case of No. 4, while according to Rich the most honourable at each of the side couches were Nos. 1 and 7 respectively.

We now come to the interpretation of a fragment of Sallust preserved by Servius (ad Verg. Aen. I. 698) which is as follows; "Igitur discubuere: Sertorius inferior in medio; super eum L. Fabius Hispaniensis senator ex proscriptis; in summo Antonius; et infra scriba Sertorii Versius; et alter scriba Maecenas in imo, medius inter Tarquinium et dominum Perpernam." They are thus placed by Yates; Sertorius at No. 6, Fabius at No. 5, Antonius at No. 1, Versius at No. 2, Maecenas at No. 8, Tarquinius at No. 7 and Perperna at No. 9. Here "inferior in medio" must surely mean No. 5, as Rich takes it, and not No. 6, as Yates thinks, taking the expression as equivalent to imus. There were only seven guests present and only two on the lectus medius, so Fabius should be placed at No. 4, and Nos. 3 and 6 would be unoccupied. Moreover Tarquinius should be placed at No. 9 and Perperna the host at No. 7.

Next comes the well-known passage in Horace (Sat. II. 8. 20—23)

> "summus ego, et prope me Viscus Thurinus, et infra,
> si memini, Varius, cum Servilio Balatrone
> Vibidius, quas Maecenas adduxerat umbras.
> Nomentanus erat super ipsum, Porcius infra."

Here Yates places Maecenas at No. 5, whereas he should be at No. 6, for Servilius and Vibidius were plainly next to each other as appears from vv. 33, 34,

> "tum Vibidius Balatroni,
> nos nisi damnose bibimus moriemur inulti,"

where the remark of Vibidius is evidently an 'aside' to Balatro. Here the position of Nomentanus is exceptional. He occupies the usual place of the host at No. 7 for the special purpose given in vv. 25, 26

"Nomentanus ad hoc, qui, siquid forte lateret,
indice monstraret digito."

The result of a comparison of these passages seems to be that No. 6 was the place of the most honoured guest, No. 7 that of the host, Nos. 2 and 8 the most honourable on their respective couches, and Nos. 3 and 9 the least so, while all places on the summus lectus were more honourable than those on the imus, less so than those on the medius.

J. H. SWAINSON.

THE NORTHERN BUDDHIST LEGEND OF AVALOKITEŚWARA'S DESCENT INTO THE HELL AVÍCHI.

One of the most remarkable features of the Northern Buddhism, current in Nepal, Tibet, Tartary, and China, as distinguished from the Southern, current in Ceylon, Burmah, and Siam, is the worship paid to the Bodhisattwa Avalokiteśwara.

This Bodhisattwa[1] is supposed to be the son of the Buddha Amitábha who reigns in the Western heaven, called Sukhávatí; to him is attributed the famous formula *Om maṇi padme húm*, and he is looked upon as the tutelary saint of Tibet. In China he is worshipped under a female form (corresponding apparently to the Hindu notion of a deity's *śakti*, or personified power), as Kwan-yin or the Goddess of Mercy; and the Rev. S. Beal has translated the Confessional Service addressed to her, in the second vol. (new series) of the "Journal of the R. A. Society[2]."

The name and attributes of Avalokiteśwara are entirely unknown to the Southern Buddhists; and his worship is one of the later additions which have attached themselves to the simpler original system, as it spread through India and ultimately made its way to China and Japan.

We cannot tell when this new deity first rose on the popular horizon; but there are some indications which may help us to approximate in fixing the date. Burnouf has remarked that

[1] A Bodhisattwa is a potential Buddha, one who has only one more birth before he attains *nirváṇa*. Burnouf explains Avalokiteśwara as a barbarous Sanskrit compound, meaning 'le seigneur qui a regardé en bas' (*Introd.* p. 226).

[2] Cf. also *the Catena of Buddhist Scriptures from the Chinese*, pp. 383—409.

the earlier and simpler Northern books contain no allusion to this object of worship. "Ce nom n'est pas cité une seule fois dans les Sútras, ni dans les légendes de l'Avadána çataka, ni dans celles du Divya Avadána, tandis qu'il figure au premier rang dans notre Lotus de la bonne loi" (Introd. p. 115).

Fa Hian, the Chinese traveller, who travelled in India from 399 to 414 A.D., expressly says (ch. xvi.) "men who belong to the Great Translation worship the Prajná Páramitá, Manjuśrí and Avalokiteśwara;" and in a subsequent chapter he describes himself as invoking Avalokiteśwara when exposed to a storm during his homeward voyage from Ceylon to China. Hiouen Thsang also (who travelled in India in the seventh century) is well acquainted with this saint, and mentions him in several places. He finds his statue in Kapiśa, south of the Hindu Kush, and in a monastery in Udyána, and in Kashmir: and he also mentions a celebrated statue on the bank of the Ganges, famed for its power of working miracles.

The two best known Northern works which contain details respecting Avalokiteśwara are the Káraṇḍa-vyúha and the Saddharma-Puṇḍaríka; both belong to the collection of nine books which, under the name 'the nine *dharmas*,' is regarded with such veneration in Nepál. The latter was translated by Burnouf as 'Le lotus de la bonne loi;' the text of the former has been recently published at Calcutta, in a native series of Sanskrit books. The editor does not mention where he found the original MS., from which he has printed his text; but it was probably one of the many MSS. presented by Mr B. H. Hodgson to the Bengal Asiatic Society, between 1824 and 1839.

The twenty-fourth chapter of the 'Lotus' is devoted to the praises of Avalokiteśwara. To pronounce his name even once is said to be equal in merit to the continual worship of as many Buddhas as there are sands in the sixty-two Ganges; and to invoke his aid in any difficulty or sorrow brings certain deliverance. He is also represented as assuming various forms in different worlds to proclaim the law of Buddha to different creatures; to some he appears under the form of a Buddha, to others of a Bodhisattwa, to others of Brahmá, Indra,

Maheśwara or even of a universal monarch, a Brahman or a Piśácha, "in order to teach the law to those beings made to be converted by these respective teachers." The 'Lotus' is mentioned by Hiouen Thsang; and when he visits the mountain Gṛidhrakúṭa in South Bihár, he expressly adds that at the bottom of the southern edge of the mountain there was a *stúpa*, and "here in olden time Buddha explained the book of the lotus-flower of the law."

The Káraṇḍa-vyúha has as its principal topic throughout the glory of Avalokiteśwara; and towards the end of the book we have glowing accounts of the efficacy of the celebrated formula attributed to him. The work is found in two different recensions, the one in prose, the other in verse. The latter has been partly analysed by Burnouf (Introd. pp. 220—231), but it is evidently the more modern version; the MS. of the prose version at Paris, however, was too incorrect for him to attempt to translate it. This defect has now been supplied by the Calcutta text.

The peculiar characteristic of Avalokiteśwara, as worshipped by all the Northern Buddhists, is, that 'he has declared his purpose, under the most solemn oath, to manifest himself to every creature in the universe, in order to deliver all beings from the consequences of sin[1].'

The first few chapters of the Káraṇḍa-vyúha are occupied with a description of Avalokiteśwara's descent into the hell Avíchi to deliver the souls there held captive by Yama the lord of the lower world. As these seem to me to bear a curious resemblance to the apocryphal gospel of Nicodemus, I subjoin a translation from the Calcutta text, only occasionally condensing the narrative where we have the usual repetitions of the Northern Buddhist writings.

The Káraṇḍa-vyúha (or 'arrangement of the basket of Avalokiteśwara's excellences') professes to be a narrative by the disciple Ánanda, who was present at the original discourse as uttered by Buddha, and it therefore commences with the usual formula *evam mayá śrutam*, "thus was it heard by me."

[1] Beal, *Buddhist Catena*, p. 383.

The work opens with the description of an assembly held in the Jetavana garden at Śrávasti, where Buddha is attended by a vast throng of mendicant followers as well as a still more numerous audience from the spiritual world, thousands of Bodhisattwas, and sons of the devas, with Indra, Brahmá sahámpati, the Sun, the Moon, the Wind, Varuṇa, &c., at their head, with countless nágas, gandharvas and kinnaras, with their daughters, and Apsarasas, besides hundreds of thousands of lay devotees of both sexes.

"When the vast assembly was met together, suddenly beams of light issued forth in the hell Avíchi; and having issued forth they reached to the monastery of Jetavana and decorated the whole place. The pillars appeared to be inlaid with heavenly gems, the upper chambers to be covered with gold, the doors, staircases, &c. to be all of gold, and the grounds outside to be filled with heavenly trees, with golden trunks and silver leaves, and hung with costly garments, pearl-wreaths, and all kinds of ornaments, while the eye wandered over lakes filled with water[1] and various kinds of flowers.

Chapter II.

"Then in the midst of that assembly a noble Bodhisattwa named Sarvaṇívaraṇavishkambhin, having risen from his seat, and thrown his upper garment over one shoulder and bent his right knee to the ground, putting his hands to his forehead and turning reverentially towards Buddha, thus addressed him, 'I am filled with excessive wonder, O holy one; whence come these rays? of what Tathágata are they the visible majesty?'

"Buddha replied, 'This is not the majesty of a Tathágata[2]; O noble youth, the glorious Bodhisattwa Avalokiteśwara has entered into the great hell Avíchi; and having delivered the beings there is entering the city of the *pretas*[3]; hence is it that these my rays have been emitted.'

[1] This water has a curious epithet, *ashṭángopeta-vári;* does this mean 'water flowing downwards,' *i.e.* prostrate, or 'endowed with the eight good qualities'?

[2] A title of a Buddha.

[3] The pretas are beings in a state of punishment, and are described as always emaciated and hunger-stricken.

"Then the Bodhisattwa Sarvaṇívaraṇavishkambhin addressed Buddha, 'O holy one, what beings are found in Avíchi?, there where no joy (*víchi*) is known, does he preach the law? in Avíchi, whose iron realm surrounded by walls and ramparts is as it were one uninterrupted flame, like a casket of flashing jewels. In that hell is the great wailing cauldron, wherein myriads of beings are thrown; just as kidney beans or pulse sweat rising and sinking in a pot full of boiling water, so do these beings endure corporeal pain in Avíchi. How then, O holy one, does the Bodhisattwa Avalokiteśwara enter there?'

"Buddha answered, 'O noble youth, just as an emperor enters into a garden full of all precious things, attended with all his royal pomp, so Avalokiteśwara enters into the hell Avíchi. But his body undergoes no change. When he approaches the hell, it becomes cool. Then the guards of Yama, bewildered and alarmed, begin to think, 'What is this inauspicious sign which has appeared in Avíchi?' When Avalokiteśwara enters, then there appear there lotuses as large as chariot-wheels, and the cauldron bursts open, and within that bed of fire a lake of honey is manifested.

"Then Yama's guards, seizing all manner of weapons, swords, clubs, javelins, &c., and all the defensive armour of hell, repaired to Yama the lord of justice and addressed him; 'Let our king know that our field of action[1] is destroyed and is become a place of pleasure and filled with all joy.'

"Yama replied, 'What is the reason that your field of action is destroyed?'

"The guards answered, 'Let our lord also know that an inauspicious sign has appeared in Avíchi; all has become quiet and cool, and a man assuming all shapes at will has entered there, wearing matted locks and a diadem and decked with divine ornaments, with his mind excessively benevolent, and like an orb of gold. Such is the man who has entered; and immediately on his entrance lotuses have appeared as large as chariot-wheels, and the cauldron has burst open, and within that bed of fire a lake of honey is manifested.' Then Yama

[1] *Asmákaṃ karmabhúmiḥ.*

reflected; 'Of what god is this the majesty? Of Maheśwara, great in power; or Náráyaṇa worshipped by the five oceans?, or have any of the other sons of the gods obtained by boon such preeminent reward, and descended to this place? or has some Rákshasa arisen, some rival of Rávaṇa?' Thus he stood and pondered; and beholding with his divine eye he saw no such power in the world of the gods'[1]; and who else can have such power?

"Then again he looked back to the hell Avíchi, and therein he beheld the Bodhisattwa Avalokiteśwara. Then Yama the lord of justice went where he was, and having saluted his feet with his head began to utter his praise. 'Glory to thee Avalokiteśwara, Maheśwara, Padmaśrí, the giver of boons, the subduer, best overlooker of the earth, &c.[2]' Thus having uttered his special praise, Yama thrice circumambulated round the Bodhisattwa and went out.'

Chapter III.

"Then Sarvaṇívaraṇavishkambhin thus addressed Buddha, 'When does the glorious Bodhisattwa Avalokiteśwara come back?'

"Buddha answered, 'Noble son, he has gone out of hell and has entered the city of the *pretas*. There hundreds of thousands of pretas run before him, with forms like burned pillars, tall like skeletons, with bellies like mountains and mouths like needles' eyes. When Avalokiteśwara comes to the *preta* city, the city becomes cold, the thunderbolt ceases, and the door-keeper, with uplifted javelin, his hand busy with poison, and his eyes red with anger, suddenly by his power begins to feel the influence of benevolence, 'I must not have to do with such a field of labour.'

[1] In p. 10, l. 20, I read *balam* for *varam;* the best Cambridge MS. has तच्च देवनिकाये न पश्यति स ईदृशं बलम् ।

[2] I omit the remainder of this address which extends to a page.

"Then the Bodhisattwa Avalokiteśwara having beheld that abode of beings, being filled with compassion, caused ten *Vaitaraṇí* rivers to issue from his ten fingers, and ten more from his toes; and likewise in his great compassion rivers of water poured from all his pores down to those afflicted beings. And when the pretas tasted that water, their throats became expanded and their limbs filled, and they were satiated with food of a heavenly flavour. Then regaining human consciousness they begin to think of worldly things. 'Alas, happy are the men of Jambudwípa who can seek cool shade, who can always live near their parents and wives; who can cut the sacred staves, and repair the broken and crumbling monasteries, and shattered topes; who can always wait on those who recite, write, or read the sacred books, and behold the miracles and various wonder-works of the Tathágatas, Pratyeka-buddhas, Arhats, and Bodhisattwas.'

"Thus meditating, they abandoned their *preta* bodies of punishment and became capable of attaining their desire. Then from Avalokiteśwara there issued the precious royal sútra of the 'great translation,' the Káraṇḍa-vyúha. Then having split with the thunderbolt of knowledge the twenty-peaked mountain of the delusion which teaches that the body exists[1], they were all born in the Sukhávatí world as Bodhisattwas named 'Akánkshita-mukháḥ. Then Avalokiteśwara, when these beings were released and born in the land of the Bodhisattwas, went out again from the city of the *pretas*.'

Chapter IV.

"Then Sarvaṇívaraṇavishkambhin said to Buddha, 'Does Avalokiteśwara still delay to come?'

"Buddha answered, 'Noble son, he is maturing the experience of many thousands of myriads of beings; day by day he comes and matures them; there never was such a manifestation

[1] For this curious phrase cf. Burnouf, *Introd.* p. 263, and Childers' Pali Dict. *sakkáya.*

of the Tathágatas as there is of the glorious Bodhisattwa Avalokiteśwara.'"

Buddha then describes an assembly held in a former æon by a Buddha named 'Sikhin, who sees Avalokiteśwara coming to him with a present of heavenly flowers from Amitábha. The Buddha 'Sikhin asks where he is performing his works of merit. Avalokiteśwara replies that he is visiting the innumerable hells in the universe, and that he has resolved that he himself shall not grasp the perfect knowledge of a Buddha until all beings have been not only delivered from punishment, but are settled in the world of Nirvána.

If we now turn to the second part of the Apocryphal Gospel of Nicodemus, we find a curious parallel to this legend.

The two sons of Simeon, who are described as having been raised from their graves at Christ's death, are brought before the chief priests. They then call for ink, pens, and paper, and relate how they were in Hades with the fathers, when suddenly "at the hour of midnight, upon those dark places, there arose, as it were, the light of the sun and shone, and we were all lighted up and saw one another." Satan then goes to Hades and tells him of Jesus, his crucifixion and death, and bids him hold him firmly when he comes. Hades replies that Christ had lately rescued Lazarus,—"I conjure thee both for thy benefit and mine, not to bring him hither; for I think that he is coming here in order to raise up all the dead. And this I say to thee, By the darkness which we keep, if thou dost bring him hither, none of the dead will be left to me."

While Satan and Hades were thus talking together, there came a great voice like thunder, quoting Ps. xxiv. 7: "And when Hades heard, he said to Satan, 'Go forth if thou art able and resist him.' Therefore Satan went forth. Then said Hades to his demons, 'Secure well and firmly the brazen gates and the iron bars, and hold down my bolts, and stand upright and watch everything; for if he should enter here, woe will seize us.' On hearing these things, the forefathers all began to reproach him

saying, 'All-devouring and insatiate, open that the King of Glory may come in.'...The voice therefore came again, 'Lift up the gates.' Hades hearing the voice a second time, answered as forsooth not knowing and said, 'Who is this King of Glory?' The angels of the Lord said, 'The Lord strong and mighty, the Lord mighty in battle.' And immediately at this word the brazen gates were broken and the iron bars were crushed, and all the dead that were bound were loosed from their bonds, and we with them. And the King of Glory entered as a man, and all the dark places of Hades were lighted up. Hades straightway cried, 'We are conquered, woe unto us.'...Then the King of Glory seized the chief ruler Satan by the head, and delivered him to the angels and said, 'Bind with irons his hands and feet and neck and mouth.' Then he delivered him to Hades and said, 'Take him and keep him safely until my second coming.' Then Hades took Satan and said to him, 'Beelzebub, inheritor of fire and punishment, enemy of the saints, by what necessity hast thou contrived that the King of Glory should be crucified, that he should come hither and spoil us? Turn and see that none of the dead is left in me; but all that thou didst gain by the tree of knowledge, thou hast lost it all by the cross.'"

Christ then blesses all the fathers, beginning with Adam, and rises with them in triumphal procession to Paradise, where he delivers them to the archangel Michael.

Is the resemblance of the two legends accidental, or is it possible that, in the Buddhist account, we have one of those faint reflections of Christian influence (derived perhaps from Persian Christians settled in western and southern India) which Professor Weber has endeavoured to trace in the doctrine of faith as taught in the Bhagavad Gítá, and some of the mediæval schools of the Vedánta? Much must depend on the date of the Apocryphal Gospel of Nicodemus. Maury and Cowper would place it as low as the fifth century; but Tischendorf with greater probability would refer it to the second[1]. Even if the present form in which we have the legend is interpolated, much

[1] Quæ omnia conjuncta ejusmodi sunt ut libellum nostrum ex antiquissimo scripto apocrypho secundi sæculi haustum vel transcriptum putem. *Evang. Apocr.* p. 73.

of it must surely be of an early date; and we find direct allusions to events described there, in the Pseudo-Epiphanius' homily 'in Sepulchrum Christi,' and in the fifteenth sermon of Eusebius of Alexandria[1]. At the same time we have no reason to suppose that the Buddhist legend was connected with the earliest worship of Avalokiteśwara. It is not alluded to by the Chinese travellers in India; and the date of the Káraṇḍa-vyúha can only be so far fixed, that it seems to have been translated into Tibetan in the ninth century[2].

[1] The phrase in Athanasius' third sermon *in Arios* reminds one of the legend, though it may be only a rhetorical phrase, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ θέμις πάλιν εἰπεῖν δειλιᾷν τὸν Κύριον, ὃν οἱ πυλωροὶ τοῦ Ἅδου πτήξαντες ἐξαφῆκαν τὸν Ἅδην.

[2] In Csomo Körösi's paper (*Asiat. Res.* xx. p. 530) it is said to have been translated by Śákya-prabhá and Ratna-rakshita; the former is associated in p. 516 and p. 530 with Bandé-yé-shés-sdé, one of the well-known Tibetan translators of the 9th century (p. 527).

E. B. COWELL.

NOTES UPON I. THE ROOT *AK*; II. THE ROOT *MAGH*; III. THE WORD *ARE*.

I. On the root *AK*.

The Indo-European root *ak* is not a very easy one to deal with, because there would seem to be more than one root of that form. Besides this, there is a root *agh* which seems to have been nearly allied to it; and beyond this again, there seem to have been more roots than one of the latter form. All are more or less represented in English, but it is by no means easy to distinguish them. For the sake of convenience, I take them in the order in which they are presented by Fick, and it will be understood that I do not undertake to mention all their derivatives in the various Indo-European languages, but only endeavour to mention such as are actually represented in our own language.

To begin with *ak*. Here Fick cites at least four different roots, three in his Indo-European word-list, and a fourth in his European list. The first three are *ak*, to see, *ak*, to pervade or pierce, and the nasalised root *ak* or *ank*, to bend. The fourth is *ak*, to be colourless or dark. The first two he supposes to be identical, and indeed, very little is gained by separating them. The notions of seeing and piercing are easily connected, as in our word *sharp-sighted*, or in the word *eye*, as applied to the hole in a needle. It is also better to consider the second *ak* before the other, as presenting what was probably the more original idea. I therefore rearrange his order to that extent, and present the first three forms as meaning (1) to pierce; (2) to see; (3) to bend. The derivatives of *ak*, to pierce, are seen in the

Latin *acer*, sharp, *acidus*, sour, and *acuere*, to sharpen. From *acer*, we have *acerbity*; closely connected with which are *acrid, acridity, acridness, acrimony, acritude.*

From *acidus*, we have *acid, acidity, acidulate*; and in close connection, *acetic, acetous, acetate*, and other terms, chiefly chemical.

In connection with *acuere* stand the Latin *acutus, acumen*, and *acus*. Hence the English *acute, acuteness, acumen, acupuncture*, &c.

The Latin *acer* becomes *aigre* in French; whence the English *eager, eagerness*. Hence also *vin aigre*, sour wine; or, in English, *vinegar*.

From the Latin *acus* comes the diminutive *aculeus*. Hence the French *aiguille* and *aiguillette*. *Aiguille* is a word of frequent occurrence in the descriptions of Alpine scenery. *Aiguillette* has produced *aglet*, a word familiar to readers of Elizabethan literature, and occurring in Shakespeare in the compound *aglet-baby*. Spenser spells it *aygulets* in one of the finest stanzas he ever wrote, which is moreover remarkable for wanting half the last line. See F. Q. ii. 3. 26.

Mr Peile, in his Greek and Latin Etymology, 3rd ed. p. 104, admits the close connection of this root *ak* with the A.S. *eggian*, to incite, or *egg* on. This seems to me to admit of direct proof. For we must certainly connect the Latin *acies* with *acus*, and the Latin *acies* is obviously identical with the A.S. *ecg*, the edge of a sword, the very word which we now spell *edge*. The verb *eggian* is a mere derivative of this, signifying to apply an edge or point, hence to *incite*. This accounts also for the double form of the verb in English; we not only find to *egg on*, but also to *edge* on. Other derivations in A.S. are, apparently, *egl*, a sprout of corn, or a beard of corn, represented by the Essex word *ails*, meaning beards of barley. Also *eglan*, to inflict pain; a verb which is commonly used impersonally, as in the phrase *me egleð*, i. e. it *ails* me. Also *eglian*, to feel ill, our modern to *ail*.

More strictly, in accordance with Grimm's law, we should find the Latin *c* replaced by a Gothic *h*. Accordingly we find the A.S. *eher*, often contracted to *eár*, which is our *ear* in the

sense of an ear of corn. In Mœso-Gothic we have *ahana*, a sprout or ear of corn, used in the sense of *chaff* in Luke 3. 17. This is the word which we now spell *awn*. Here too I should place the word *awl*, A.S. *ál*, which may be a contraction of a theoretical form *ahal*, signifying the piercer, in which the primitive sense of the root has been most exactly preserved. Another received meaning of the root *ak* (to pierce) is to attain to, to hasten; whence the Sanskrit *aśva*, for *akva*, a horse, Lat. *equus*, represented in English by *equine*, *equitation*, and *equestrian*. I quote from Mr Peile (p. 104) the opinion that Professor Curtius seems to be right in attributing to this root our word *hammer*, which seems to have acquired an initial aspirate to which it had no proper right, and is to be compared with the Lithuanian *akmen* and the Sanskrit *aśman*, meaning a hard stone.

I now come to the second *ak*, meaning to see. This is, probably, merely the same root in a different application. At any rate, it gives us the Sanskrit *aksha*, Lat. *oculus*, A.S. *eáge*. Hence not only the English *eye*, but the Latin-English *oculist* and *ocular*. A very interesting derivative of *eye* is the name of the flower which we call the *daisy;* the A.S. name was *dæges eáge*, i.e. the *day's eye;* an etymology which was well known as late as in the time of Chaucer. Another derivative is seen in *window*. In Middle-English this word was understood as meaning *wind-door*, and was sometimes spelt *windore;* but the original meaning was *wind-eye*, as testified by the Icelandic *vind-auga*, in which both elements are perfectly preserved. The A.S. names for *window* were *eage-þyrl*, an eye-hole, or *eage-duru*, an eye-door. The latter form accounts for the confusion between *eye* and *door* in the word *window*.

We have also the word *eyelet*, not really of A.S. origin, but from the French *œillet*, a diminutive of *œil*, from *oculus*.

From the root *ak*, to bend, we have the Sanskrit *añch*, to bend, and the Latin *angulus* and *ancora*. Hence our *angle*, *angular*, and *anchor*. There is also an A.S. *angel*, the meaning of which is a fish-hook. Whether it was a borrowed or a cognate word it is hard to say. At any rate, it has given us the words *angler*, *angling*, and *to angle*.

From the root *ak*, to be colourless or dark, is said to be

derived the curious Latin word *aquilus*, meaning dark brown. The feminine *aquila* was used to designate a particular bird, passing into French as *aigle*, and thence into English as *eagle*.

Closely connected in form with the root *ak* is the root *agh*. To this have been assigned three different senses; viz. *agh*, to say; *agh*, to choke; *agh*, to covet. All three are represented in English.

Agh, to say, gives Lat. *aio* and *adagium;* whence *adage*.

Agh, to covet (which I take next) gives the Lat. *egere* which appears in *indigent*.

Agh, to choke, is a far more prolific root, the derivatives of which are liable to confusion with those of *ak*, to pierce. Hence the Lat. *angustus*, narrow; in connection with which we have *anxious*, *anxiety*, *anxietude*, and *anger*. There is also an A.S. *ange*, vexatious, with its derivation *ang-nægl*, a sore beside a nail, known in later English as an *angnail*, *agnail*, or (by an attempt to give it a new meaning) as *hang-nail*.

Hence also the Lat. *anguis*, a snake, and *anguilla*, an eel. Cognate with *anguilla* is the Anglo-Saxon *ál* (contracted from a theoretical *ahal*) now spelt *eel*. Thus the two words which we now spell *eel* and *awl* were once spelt alike, and it is difficult to distinguish between them. In the same way we have, in Greek, not only ἔχις, a viper, but ἐχῖνος, a hedgehog. The former, ἔχις, must go with *anguis* and the Sanskrit *ahi*, from the root *agh*, to choke; but possibly ἐχῖνος, almost naturalised in the form *echinus*, is to be referred to *ak*, to pierce. Beside the form *echinus* we have the interesting word *igel*, still preserved in German as the name of a hedgehog. Unless it may still be traced in some of our provincial dialects, the word is now out of use; but it occurs in the contracted form *yl* in a remarkable specimen of Anglo-Saxon which is said to shew traces of the dialect of East Anglia. When king Edmund of East Anglia was murdered by the Danes, we are told that his tormentors tied him to a tree, and threw javelins at him "till he was all beset with their shootings, as the bristles of a hedgehog, even as was St Sebastian;" or, in the original, "oððet he all wæs biset mid heoræ scotungum, swylce *yles* burstæ, swa swa Sebastianus wæs."

From the same root *agh*, to choke, is derived the Mœso-Gothic *agis*, terror, preserved in English in the form *awe*. Also the good old Anglo-Saxon word *ece*, an *ache* or pain. This word was always spelt *ake* (with *k*) in Middle-English, until Greek became known amongst us. After that time, it was spelt *ache* in conformity with the spelling of the cognate Greek word ἄχος, though the word was not borrowed from the Greek at all, but only derived from a common source with it.

I wish here to record my conviction that nothing has so much obscured the etymology of English as the notion, still widely held, that we have few native words in our language, and that it is absolutely necessary to "derive" everything from a Latin, Greek, or Sanskrit root. The truth is rather that we have hundreds of native words which can only be fairly traced by comparing them with Indo-European roots, from which in many cases they can be derived without much error, and with which they ought always to be connected, where such a connection is fairly practicable.

II. On the root *MAGH*.

In dealing with the root *magh*, I may remark that I was led to investigate it in order to distinguish clearly between the different uses of the English word *main*. It is remarkable that we have two words of the form *main*, one a substantive and the other an adjective, which have come to us from different sources, and are yet nearly related to each other. The substantive, used in the phrase "with might and *main*," is of native origin, but the adjective, used in the phrase "the *main* chance," was borrowed from the French. The history of the words is quite clear. The substantive is the A.S. *mægen*, might, from the verb *magan*, to be able. The adjective is the old French *maine* or *magne*, great, from the Latin *magnus*. But the Latin and A.S. roots are identical, viz. *mag-*, being cognate with each other. The Indo-European root is *magh*, to be great, or powerful; whence we have Sansk. *mahat*, great,

Gk. μέγας, Lat. *magnus;* and from the last of these, the O. Fr. *maine,* Eng. *main* as an adjective. We also find Mœso-Goth. *magus,* a boy (lit. one who is coming to his full strength), A.S. *mæg,* a relation, either male or female, whence Mid.-Eng. *may,* always used to mean a girl; also A.S. *mægd,* a *maid,* with its diminutive *maiden.* From the same root is the important A.S. verb *magan,* G. *mögen,* Eng. *may.* To the same root we can trace the Gk. μηχανή, a *machine,* and A.S. *macian,* to *make.* In Sanskrit *mah* means to honour; compare Lat. *mactus,* honoured, *mactare,* to honour. Other derivatives are Gk. μεγάλος, Goth. *mikils,* A.S. *micel,* Eng. *mickle;* Gk. μῆκος, length; A.S. *mægn,* strength, now spelt *main.* Also Goth. *mahts,* A.S. *mæht, miht,* Eng. *might.* Also *much, more, most;* Gk. μακρός, long, &c. And I can enumerate many more words which are obviously from the same root, viz. *major, mayor, maxim, master, magistrate, magnate, magnify, majesty, mechanics,* &c. I conclude by tracing the word *matador,* which must also be included. The Lat. *mactare* means (1) to honour, (2) to sacrifice, (3) to kill. Hence the Spanish *matar,* to kill, and *matador,* the "killer" of the bull in the Spanish bull-fight. Perhaps some more may be added; but these will shew how important the knowledge of such a root is in the tracing of English etymologies. It may also be observed that the strong similarity between the derivatives of the root *magh* in various languages is due to the fact that the letter *m* is extremely persistent as an initial, being unaffected by Grimm's law. The substance of the present note upon this root is printed in a note to my edition of the Two Noble Kinsmen, Act II. Sc. 1. l. 116.

III. On the word *ARE.*

In the Old Northumbrian version of the Gospels preserved in the Durham MS. (MS. Cotton, Nero D. 4) the modern English *are* is represented both by *aron* and by *sind.* Though these forms have at first sight no resemblance, they are, of course, both due to the same form, the Indo-European

asanti. The syllables *asan* give *aron*, and the syllables *santi* give *sind*. But the really interesting point is, that the word *aron* actually contains the root-vowel *a* (in *as-*), which is missing in the Sanskrit *santi* and in the Latin *sunt*, and only imperfectly represented in the Greek εἰσὶν and the Icelandic *eru*. The old Northumbrian dialect has had considerable influence upon that Midland dialect which has come to be recognised as standard English; and amongst other things, has excluded the word *ben*, and given us the word *are* in its place. In the MSS. of Chaucer we find *three* forms, viz. *arn*, *ben*, and *beth*. The point to which I wish to draw attention is the extreme antiquity of such a form as *are;* and to suggest that there is a vast number of forms in English which bear similar marks of having been preserved, without great loss, from the Indo-European period. This is, perhaps, admitted in theory; but I am sure that it is constantly ignored in practice. When etymologists are employed upon English, they commonly forget that they often have to deal with very antique forms. It is impossible, I suppose, to assign any very precise date. But when we notice the completeness of a language like the Mœso-Gothic, which had forms of its own in the fourth century, and can trace back the Sanskrit, Greek, and Latin, to centuries preceding the Christian era, I would ask the question—Is it not speaking very much within bounds, to suggest that a word like *are* (understood as a corruption of *aron* or *asan* or *asanti*) must be at least 3000 years old? I very much doubt if the full importance of English has been recognised, even by Germans. The fragments of Gothic are very imperfect, and do not contain, for example, any such word as *aron*, but only *sind*. The Low-German languages are but imperfectly represented by their written remains. It is notorious that many words in daily use, obviously of Anglo-Saxon origin, are not found in our oldest MSS. I draw the conclusion that in the modern dialects, of English, Danish, Swedish, and in the Icelandic, there must be many forms of extreme antiquity, some of which may not have varied very widely from the original type; and I suspect that it is in this direction that least has been done to illustrate the original Indo-European speech.

I will add one more illustration from the same Northumbrian glosses. We have, in the one word *am*, the suffix *m* or *mi*, representing the first personal pronoun. But in the old Northumbrian we have further examples of the same suffix in the words *ic doam*, I do, Mark xi. 29; *ic beom*, I be (or rather, I shall be—for it has a future force), Mark ix. 19; and *ic geseom*, I see, Mark viii. 24. These I have already noted in my preface to St Mark's Gospel, p. xxxi.

W. W. SKEAT.

SELECT PRIVATE ORATIONS OF DEMOSTHENES, WITH INTRODUCTIONS AND ENGLISH NOTES BY F. A. PALEY, M.A., AND J. E. SANDYS, M.A. PART I.

It is, I suppose, the fact that there are a larger number of highly trained classical scholars in England than in any other country, and it is probably the fact also that the proportion of these who make contributions of value to Classical Philology is smaller in England than elsewhere. Even among our productive scholars, there are not many who care to undertake any task involving more than a few months' work: and the outsiders, who ought to form an intelligent critical audience, are content, for the most part, to utter their criticisms in lectures or conversation, and leave the public expression of opinion to the 'indolent reviewer' of the weekly papers. Such a book as that before me has, in all probability, been carefully read by some twenty or thirty men of matured scholarship, any one of whom would have been able to suggest some improvement, and so, with little trouble to himself, have helped to advance the cause of classical learning in England. If I am not mistaken, the *Journal of Philology* has always sought to be especially the organ of sober detailed criticism of this kind, avoiding all approach to the windy generalities and aesthetic affectations which are so popular in other quarters. What is perhaps still to be desired is that there should be a more systematic oversight of all publications which come within its province, so that any writer who had done really honest work might feel sure of finding here a fair and appreciative judgment, and what is of yet greater importance, of getting substantial help for

future editions. I do not of course assume that the suggestions of the critic should always be accepted by the author, but if they are worthy of being admitted into the Journal, they ought at least to direct his attention to points in which it is desirable that he should strengthen his position or alter his manner of expression.

Turning now to my immediate subject: I think there can be no question that this edition of the Private Orations far surpasses any that have gone before it, and that it will compare favourably with the English editions of any portion of Demosthenes, excepting only the masterly edition of the *De Falsa Legatione* by Mr Shilleto, which, in point of exact scholarship and familiarity with the language of the Orators, seems to me to stand altogether alone. It is a matter of satisfaction that the younger editor, as we may infer from the three volumes which have appeared with his name—the Select Orations of Isocrates, and the first and second parts of the Private Orations of Demosthenes—has already marked out for his own a definite portion of the field of classical study, thus setting an example of that division of labour which is so much needed among English scholars, and which seems so difficult to achieve. Mr Sandys' notes exhibit the good sense and sound scholarship which we naturally look for in any work of his, and they have the further merit of embodying the latest results of the researches of Arnold Schaefer and other distinguished German philologists. In the present volume, however, it is only the work of revision which has fallen to Mr Sandys, the bulk of the notes being due to Prof. Paley. In the second volume the parts of the editors are reversed.

It is fortunate for the students of this generation that Mr Paley has not practised the self-restraint which has been just commended in his coadjutor. No editor of the present day has taken so wide a range as he has done. Personally I am disposed to regret that he has preferred to turn his attention to Demosthenes rather than to the Lyric poets. If he had made use of his special knowledge of the language of the Epic and Tragic poets to provide us with an edition of the link which connects them, I think that his services would have been even

greater than they are. But beggars must not be choosers, and where so much has been done, it would be ungrateful to complain because something else remains undone.

The observations which follow are almost entirely confined to those passages in which I thought I saw my way to a more satisfactory explanation than that given in the notes. Where I was dissatisfied with the note but could suggest nothing better, I have said nothing. Once or twice I have mentioned where I thought a note might have been added with advantage.

Πρὸς Φορμίωνα, 908. 6.

ἐδάνεισα Φορμίωνι εἴκοσι μνᾶς ἀμφοτερόπλουν εἰς τὸν Πόντον ἐπὶ ἑτέρᾳ ὑποθήκῃ.

Mr Paley translates "I lent the defendant twenty minae for the double voyage to Pontus and back, on the security of twice that amount of goods"; adding "the meaning of ἐπὶ ἑτέρᾳ ὑποθήκῃ has been doubted, but the context leaves it pretty clear that it is a brief legal phrase for ἐφ' ἑτέρῳ τοσούτῳ". On p. 63 (c. Lacr. 930) Mr Sandys suggests that "this singular phrase should be emended ἐπὶ ἐλευθέρᾳ ὑποθήκῃ 'on an unencumbered security'".

I think the phrase is correct as it stands, and that it means 'on a separate, distinct, independent security', besides the ship and the cargo put on board. Allusion is made to this independent security, p. 909, οὔτε τὴν ὑποθήκην παρέσχετο οὔτε τὰ χρήματ' ἐνέθετ' εἰς τὴν ναῦν, where τὰ χρήματα are the τετρακισχιλίων φορτία ἄξια referred to in § 6. I cannot understand Mr Paley's note on the second passage. There is another allusion to this security in p. 914, ἐνθένδε ἐξέπλει οὐκ ἐνθέμενος εἰς τὴν ναῦν τὰ χρήματα καὶ ὑποθήκην οὐκ ἔχων, where Mr P. gives no note, but, from the summary 'he left Athens without sufficient goods as a security', I should suppose that he gives an explanatory force to καί.

p. 916 § 31. ἀνελόμενος '*taking up* the bond.' Rather 'getting back'.

p. 917 § 36. πέπρακται αὐτῷ. 'The usual Attic construction with this passive perfect (or aorist). We find it first in Aesch. Suppl. 960'. But why call it Attic? The agent is

commonly expressed in the passive by the dative both in Homer and Herodotus.

p. 918 § 38. *παρῄει εἰς Θήβας*, 'entered Thebes'. So (p. 999 § 16) *παρῆλθον εἰς Ταμύνας*, is translated 'entered T.', where Prof. Kennedy's more correct version is 'went on the campaign to'. Literally it will be 'was marching along to'.

p. 919. 40. I think there should be a new paragraph after *ἀποβάλωμεν*. The sentence which follows is merely introductory to the general summing up of the case, not in any way explanatory or confirmatory of what precedes.

p. 921. 47. The construction of this difficult sentence would be clearer if the mark of interrogation were deferred to the end *ὑπολάβοιτ' εἶναι*, the previous clauses being separated by colons. There are three pairs of antitheses opposed by *μὲν* and *δὲ*. "How monstrous it would be that you should attach weight to a disputed statement, while you refuse to believe what is agreed to by both parties; that Lampis should come forward to give evidence of that which he formerly denied, and you should refuse to give the evidence of your verdict though fully convinced of the fact; that you should not listen to Lampis when he speaks the truth, but place implicit confidence in the story which he was bribed to tell". There seems to be a confusion in the note on *οὐκ ἐστὲ μάρτυρες*, 'While you *by* deciding that his first evidence was true, and that P. did not pay, decline to become witnesses of the fact in my favour'. It is not '*by* deciding' but *in spite of* their knowledge: the antithesis is, "Lampis offers himself as a witness of what he knows to be false, you refuse to be witnesses of what you know to be true".

p. 921. 49. *τὸ δ' ὑπὲρ τῶν ἀποστερουμένων, κ.τ.λ.* This is translated in the note 'our assertion, &c.' Of course it is 'that part of the evidence of Lampis which tells in favour of the injured party', viz. his first statement that he had not been paid.

p. 923. I think that Mr Sandys makes too much of the peculiarities of style in the speech against Lacritus. Surely *τοιχωρυχέω* is not more harsh than the expressions which Aeschines finds fault with (c. Ctes. p. 77 § 166), *ἀμπελουργοῦσι*

τὴν πόλιν, φορμοῤῥαφούμεθα and the rest. Nor can I agree with the instances of 'lax diction' which Mr Paley adduces, *e.g.* p. 924. 4, *οὐκ ἂν ἔχοντος = ἐπεὶ οὐκ ἂν ἔχοι, ὅστις δίδωσιν = τὸν δίδοντα.* p. 925. 7, *ὅπως ἂν ἐνεργοὶ ὦσιν*, 'that they might be engaged in a trading enterprise'. They are ordinary constructions, of which examples can be found in the grammars. And why should, § 5, *βοηθεῖτε τὰ δίκαια* be considered 'an anomalous accusative'? It is a simple cognate.

p. 925. 7. *οὐδ' ὁ Θρασυμήδης.* The *οὐδέ* is not intended to contrast T. with his brother (as the note says) but with the speaker Androcles.

p. 926. 10. There is a misprint in the note on *ἐπὶ διακοσίας.* For 220 read 225, and 'twenty-five' for 'twenty' below.

p. 928. 17. *οὗτοσὶ δὲ Λάκριτος ἦν ὁ ἐξηγητής.* Note. 'Perhaps we should transpose the article, which should not be used with the predicate, reading *ὁ Λ. ἦν ἐξηγητής*'. But the article is of course not wanted with the proper name (see § 15, *οὗτοσὶ Λάκριτος* again), and the predicate being coextensive with the subject may perfectly well take the article, which gives it additional definiteness.

§ 18. *ὥστ' εἰς τάλαντον ἀργυρίου τὴν τιμὴν εἶναι καθισταμένην.* Note. 'According to the market value. Cf. *τῆς καθεστηκυίας τιμῆς*'. I do not see how such an interpretation was arrived at, or what was the good of referring to the perfect to explain the sense of the present. Wolf and Schaefer rightly explain *εἶναι καθισταμένην = καθίστασθαι*, and so Kennedy translates 'so that the price of the wine would amount to a talent in money'.

p. 929. 19. I cannot agree with the statement in the note that the double article *τὰ κεράμια τὰ τρισχίλια* denotes irony. In none of the passages quoted does it denote anything more than a wish to be exact.

p. 930. 22. *τοιαῦτα τούτων ἐστὶ τὰ κακουργήματα.* Note. 'For the use of the article, cf. Aesch. Theb. 646, *τοιαῦτ' ἐκείνων ἐστὶ τἀξευρήματα*'. It was hardly worth while to go so far as Aeschylus for an illustration of this simple sentence when we have in the next page *αἱ μὲν πανουργίαι τοιαῦται τῶν ἀνθρώ-*

πων τούτων εἶσιν. The same might be said of the note on *διπλάσια*, p. 1289.

§ 23. Note. 'It would seem from this that lending on *ἐπιδανεισμὸς* was as illegal as borrowing'. But there is nothing about illegality in the text: Aratus simply says that he should not have lent money on the security offered, if he had known it was already mortgaged.

p. 931. 25. Note. '*καὶ—μάλιστα* seems the syntax intended'. But *καὶ* would be quite correct without *μάλιστα*, 'It was here also that they showed their insolence (*μάλιστα*) in the highest degree'.

οὐκ εἴχομεν ὅτου κρατοῖμεν ἕως κομισαίμεθα. In direct speech the 1st optative would be a deliberate conjunctive, the 2nd would appear as *ἕως ἂν κομισώμεθα.* The note is likely to be misleading to young scholars.

p. 932. 29. *ἐπιμελεῖσθαι ὅπως ἂν ἀπολάβοιμεν.* A note should have been added pointing out the difference between *ὅπως* with the opt. and *ὅπως ἂν* with subj. and opt.

p. 941. 52. Summary. 'Terms of the law violated by taking the ship first to Chios'. Rather it would seem to have been brought first to Thieves' Harbour and afterwards taken to Chios. Observe the perf. *κατηγμένα* in 53.

§ 54. It is said in the note that 'there seems to be something wrong in this passage'. The construction is set right by substituting a comma for a period after *τούτων.* The general meaning will then be, "goods lent from Athens for the return voyage have been disembarked at Chios, proving the truth of my remark that the city itself loses through the losses of its capitalists. That you are involved in our misfortune is plain, for when a man disobeys your laws and sends off your property to Chios, is he not injuring you as much as us?"

p. 964. 26. Note. 'In late Greek *κατεῖχεν* seems to mean lodged or kept there'. *αὐτοῦ* is the genitive governed by *κ.* in the sense of took possession of. See Schaefer *in loc.*, and Rost and Palm's Lex.

p. 966. 1. *καὶ ἀπηλλαγμένον.* Note. 'These words seem an interpolation. The passive would require a change of subject. Nor does it seem likely that the passive could here have

been used in the medial sense, which is wholly inappropriate'. Schaefer gives the true explanation on 578. 15, to which he refers in his note on this passage. Translate 'having got rid of, being quit of, the whole matter'.

p. 969. 11. *ἀηδῶς δ' ἔχων οἷς λέγω τούτοις.* Note. 'The dative of respect or reference'. These terms are extremely vague: an *accusative* of respect one has heard of, but Curtius knows no such *dative,* and though Madvig uses the phrase 'dative of reference' for Curtius' more exact 'dative of interest', this is not the signification given to it here, if we may judge from the quotation, in which a dative occurs with *χαλεπῶς φέρειν.* I should have no hesitation in calling it a 'causal dative'.

p. 971. 16. Note. 'The *ἂν* is attracted as usual to the negative. See Shilleto on Thuc. I. 76. 4'. But nothing is said there of attraction to the negative; the anticipation of *ἂν* is simply attributed to "the desire of the Greeks to show as early as possible that a sentence is intended to be contingent".

p. 975. 28. *ταῦτα πῶς ἔνεστ' ἐμοὶ πεπράχθαι τῷ μὴ πάροντι καὶ περὶ ὧν Εὐέργου κατεδιδάσω*; Mr P. seems uncertain as to the force of *καὶ.* It seems to me to join the two reasons why the speaker was not responsible for the proceedings complained of: 1st, he was absent: 2nd, Euergus had been already found guilty. Either clause would have followed *πεπράχθαι* with equal propriety, though there is perhaps a little awkwardness in coupling them together.

p. 980. 46. Note. '*ἐξήτασται,* he has had the matter investigated'. I think there can be no doubt that *ἐξ.* is used in a passive sense here. See the quotations in Reiske's Index or Rost and Palm.

§ 47. *ἔχειν.* The opposition of *χαλεπὸν* to *ῥᾴδιον* proves that *ἦν* is common to both, and prevents our supposing an indefinite subject as suggested in the note.

§ 48. It is not clear what use of the future is said to belong to the later Attic and to be confined to the Ionic form. I do not think the metaphor in *ὑποστελλόμενον* is either nautical or military. The meaning is simply 'without concealment' (putting a thing under).

p. 994. 14. *λάθρα.* Note. 'She had also sworn privately (and apart from the consideration of a bribe)'. I do not see any occasion for the words in brackets: why need *καὶ* mean more than 'she had even gone so far as to swear'?

p. 998. 10. There is a misprint in the note: for 'present' read 'indicative'.

p. 1001. 23. *ὧν ἂν.* Can there be any doubt that the genitive is attracted to the antecedent dependent on *καταλλάττεσθαι,* and does not 'depend on the sense of *περί*'?

p. 1011. 8. There should be a comma, not a full stop, after *τῇ ἑαυτοῦ.* I forgot to mention that in p. 966 the comma should be moved from *τούτων* to *τουτονὶ,* connecting *πρὸς* with the previous *γεγενημένων,* and reserving *παρεγραψάμην* for the following clause.

§ 10. For the construction of *ὁμολογῶ* followed by the infinitive with *οὐ,* it would have been better to have referred to Madvig, § 205. Similarly for the use of the Perfect instead of the Aorist in later Greek (pp. 906 and 994), Winer's Grammar should have been referred to, ed. Moulton, p. 136.

§ 11. *πρὸς τὸν διαιτητὴν ἀπήντησε.* Note. 'We might expect *πρὸς τῷ* δ. but it is easy to supply *ἐλθοῦσα*'. I cannot see the use of a note like this. Nobody who had any acquaintance with the usage of the verb, or with the common phrases *λαχεῖν πρὸς ἄρχοντα, πρὸς διαιτητὴν,* could have expected a dative, which I imagine is without example. In this very speech we have the same construction repeated in §§ 17, 38, 39.

A few lines below, for *οὐδ' ὡς* read *οὐδ' ὣς.*

p. 1012. 14. *τοὺς παῖδας τοὺς διακόνους τοὺς τοῦ πατρὸς ἐξαιρέτους ἐποιησάμεθα.* Note. 'Either *τοὺς παῖδας* or *τοὺς διακόνους* reads like an interpolated gloss'. On first reading one is certainly disposed to consider that *διακόνους* was a gloss to prevent a mistake as to *παῖδας* (and this is rather confirmed by the various readings), but a reference to the index shows *παῖδα διάκονον* 1155, *οἰκέτην διάκονον* 1359; and it seems probable from other passages that *διάκονος* was a term applied to a superior class of servants. Cf. Sturtz, Lex. Xenoph. s. v.

p. 1013. 17. *τότε.* Note. 'Before the second arbitrator Boeotus did appear'. After the death of Solon each party brought

a suit against the other. Boeotus appeared in court as plaintiff, but made no appearance as defendant. This is shown by the antithesis *περὶ μὲν οὖν ὧν οὗτοί μοι ἐδικάζοντο——ἣν δ' ἐγὼ τοῦτον ἐδίωκον.* It is this second suit, not that before Solon, to which *τότε* refers.

p. 1013. 18. *αὐτῷ Μαντιθέῳ.* Note. "As Mantitheus, *i.e.* by an altered name. (Or perhaps 'with Mantitheus himself', in ironical allusion to Boeotus being somebody else)". I think *αὐτῷ* must have the emphatic meaning here, but I cannot accept the ironical allusion. Translate "I prosecuted him as being actually Mantitheus, under the actual name M."

p. 1018. 13. *μηδὲν ἀδικοῦντος.* Note. 'Here *μὴ* is used, not *οὐ*, because the case is hypothetical and represents *εἰ καὶ μηδὲν ἠδίκουν.* Schaefer's reading *οὐδὲν* is also correct, as asserting the present consciousness of innocence as a fact'. I do not think it is right to speak of this as a hypothetical case, and certainly *εἰ καὶ μηδὲν ἠδίκουν* would give a different sense to that required. If Schaefer's *οὐδὲν* is not accepted, I think all we can do is to impute this use of *μὴ* to carelessness, and number it among the exceptional cases referred to by Madvig, § 206, b, rem. 1. But the usage of later Greek makes it more probable that *οὐδὲν* (which occurs in some MSS.) was changed to *μηδὲν* than the reverse.

§ 34. I should understand *εὐήθης* as referring back to *ἀπράγμων* in § 32.

p. 1019. 37. *ὑπηρετῶν.* The circumstances referred to are obscure, but the explanation given in the note does not seem to me probable. The text says nothing of rousing the anger of Cammes. I should suppose that Boeotus charges Mantitheus with having recovered money due to his father in Mytilene, in order that he, B., may claim a share of it, which of course he could not do if it were money supplied by Apollonidas and other friends of Athens for the purpose of levying a force against the tyrant. Such a demand might be represented as helping Cammes against the Athenians. Surely A. Schaefer is wrong in thinking Ameinias an enemy of Athens. Mantitheus would not then have mentioned his connexion with him.

p. 1022. 48. In Summary, read for 'feelings', 'failings', twice.

p. 1024. 54. *ἀλλ' ἀξιούτω.* Note. 'He will not himself have any just grounds for having said them at all'. Rather "he will be unable to bring forward any fair plea".

p. 1026. 59. *πότερα ἢ μή.* Note. 'More correctly perhaps *ἢ οὐ*, since it is a direct question of fact. But we may say that it is equivalent to *εἴτε ἢ μή*'. As *οὐ* is allowable after *εἴτε* this does not help us much. Jelf (§ 875, obs. 3), followed by the editor of Madvig (§ 284), says that 'when the 2nd member of the disjunctive question is negative, this is expressed by *ἢ οὐ*, if the predicate, and by *ἢ μή*, if only a part of the sentence is negatived'. I do not think this is borne out by facts. Of course *μή* is often required by the mood of the verb understood: where this is not the case, *μή* is allowable after *πότερα*, just as in any interrogative sentence which expects a negative answer; but I think it is rarely used without some special inducement, such as we find in this sentence, in the desire to avoid a second *οὐ*.

p. 1283. 23. *τί λαβόντες τὸ βέβαιον.* The force of the article should have been noticed in this and in the similar passage (§ 15). It is not simply 'what security' but 'what as our security'.

p. 1284. 5. Note. '*ἐφ' ᾧτε.* An abbreviation for *ἐπ' ἐκείνῳ ὥστε* (or at least equivalent to it). Similarly *οἷός τε* is *τοιοῦτος οἷος ὥστε*'. It is a pity this note should have been inserted. Unless an editor can give a better account of a construction than is to be found in the grammars, he should content himself with a reference to them. It is unnecessary to say that there is no such construction as *τοιοῦτος οἷος ὥστε*: even if we assume that *οἷος* is inserted by mistake, how is it easier to understand an infinitive after *ὥστε* than after *οἷος*? The true explanation of *ἐφ' ᾧτε* is that it is an abbreviated expression for *ἐπὶ τούτῳ ἐφ' ᾧτε*, which was followed originally by a future indicative, but as the idea of *result* got more and more associated with the infinitive, the latter in process of time became the more usual construction.

p. 1285. 8. *συνετιμήθη.* Mr Paley, proposing to read *ἐπετιμήθη*, does not notice that Suidas recognizes the ordinary reading. Prof. Kennedy translates 'the price was manipu-

lated through such letters'. I do not quite see how this sense can be got out of *συντιμάω*, and I think the context requires a word expressive of the *result* of manipulation, rather than of manipulation itself. If we consider what would be the natural consequence of selling only in the dearest markets, it would tend of course to equalize prices everywhere. May not this be the meaning of *συντιμάω*, to price together? An indirect effect would probably be to raise prices at Athens, where they had been kept down by artificial restrictions.

§ 10. *πέρας δ' οὖν*. This extremely awkward sentence seems to me more unlike Demosthenes than anything in the Lacritus. There are many minor points besides, e.g. the use of *σύμπτωμα* and *ἀκαριαῖος* (surely the right reading), which make me doubt the genuineness of this speech. The analysis in the note does not seem to me satisfactory. I think that, after the parenthetical statement of the breach of contract by Parmeniscus, *λαβὼν γὰρ—ἀποδίδοται*, it was intended to describe the insolent behaviour of the partners when called upon to make some reparation (cf. § 12 *οὕτως ὑβριστικῶς ἐχρήσατο*), but the sentence breaks down under the accumulation of clauses, just at the point where the appeal of the plaintiff to the partners is about to be introduced. As Schaefer's reading *καταφρονήσας* is mentioned, it would have been as well to add that he suggests *πέρας δὲ, λαβὼν γὰρ* (omitting *οὖν*) after the pattern of *τεκμήριον δὲ*.

καθεστηκυίας. I should be inclined to take this 'prices were quiet, not rising'. And similarly I should translate *ἀπαγγελοῦντα τἀνθένδε καθεστηκότα* above, 'to report that prices here were steady'. The attraction from *ἐνθάδε* to *ἐνθένδε* seems to me more natural if we take *καθεστηκότα* as predicate, than if we translate, as in the note, 'market prices here'. In the latter case the connexion of *ἐνθένδε* is rather with *καθ.* than with the verb of motion *ἀπ.*

p. 1286. 10. Must not the word *ἐπιβάτης* have had some technical sense which does not appear in our lexicons? It seems hardly possible that ordinary passengers should have been liable to the severest punishment if they changed their destination. I understand it of an agent sent in charge of goods.

p. 1287. 13. It would have been well to note that *οὐδὲν μᾶλλον* is adverbial, 'not a whit the more for that'.

p. 1287. 13. *ἀπολαβεῖν.* Note. 'To take in part, to take as an instalment'. I doubt very much whether any example of such a meaning could be found. The force of the passage quoted from the *Nubes* depends entirely on *οὕτως.* The meaning there is, I believe, the same as in all the passages in which it occurs in this speech, viz. 'to get back what is due', the exact opposite to *ἀποδοῦναι,* which occurs in this very section. The other passages are §§ 12, 16, 30, 32, 33, 41, 46, and though in several of these passages reference is made to this note, there is only one (16) where it seems to me that the meaning here suggested is at all suitable, though even there it is not by any means necessary.

§ 14. *ἀπὸ ταυτομάτου.* I do not think that this could mean 'volunteered advice'. For the reasons given by Schaefer I take it in the same way as Kennedy.

καθομολογεῖν. I do not think *κατὰ* can have the force suggested in the note, either in this word ('to accept as full payment') or in *καταγοράζω* ('to purchase goods against, as a set-off to, a sum of money'). This meaning of 'against' is expressed by *ἀντὶ* not *κατὰ.* Thus we have *ἀνταγοράζειν* in p. 930. 24.

ὁμόσε πορευομένους. This phrase is no doubt commonly used of hostile meeting, but there is nothing in its nature to confine it to such; and the context here requires it to be taken in the sense 'ready to meet him half-way'.

p. 1288. 16. *ὡς ἑτοίμων ὄντων.* This is one of the few cases in which I should be disposed to follow Reiske against Schaefer, taking *ἑτοίμων* as referring to *ἡμῶν.* I do not see that it has any force if referred to *τῶν ἀντιλεγομένων.* The note speaks of 'a kind of attraction to *ἡμῶν*', but does not give any further explanation. In the simplest form the sentence would run *ἀξιοῦμεν, ὡς ἕτοιμοι ὄντες, κριθῆναι,* which, thrown into the absolute, becomes *ἀξιούντων ὡς ἑτοίμων ὄντων κρ.*

p. 1289. 20. *διαπεπραγμένος.* Note. 'This is rather remarkable in the sense of *διαπραξάμενος.* But Demosthenes is fond of using perfect passives in the middle sense'. This again is likely to mislead: *διαπεπραγμένος is* the perfect middle and

appears as such in all the better grammars. As for the middle use of this particular verb being 'remarkable', plenty of examples will be found in the Indices to Demosthenes, Plato, and Xenophon. It is curious that the two former seem never to employ the active voice.

p. 1289. 21. As the form *προσχεῖν* is admitted in the text, there ought to have been a note to justify the omission of the *σ*. As far as I know, the form is not noticed in any commoner books than Lobeck's Phrynichus, p. 673, Path. II. 143, Paral. 17.

p. 1293. 35. Why should *τὸ δάνειον τὸ ἀρχαῖον* 'the original debt' cause a difficulty, (except indeed on the view stated in p. 929, that the double article denotes irony)? The use of *τὸ ἀρχαῖον* for 'the principal' presupposes the fuller form. In any case I should object to the emendation proposed in the note; as also to the very uncalled for *ποικίλων* instead of *πολλῶν* in § 37.

p. 1294. 40. *καὶ γὰρ τοῦτο.* Instead of referring to *τεκμήριον δὲ*, it would have been more to the purpose to quote p. 268, § 122, *καίτοι καὶ τοῦτο* with Holmes' note.

J. B. MAYOR.

ON THE MEANING OF A PASSAGE IN CICERO, ORATOR c. 48, COMPARED WITH QUINTILIAN, INST. ORAT. XII. 10, § 27[1].

THERE can be little doubt that many of the notes in rival series of later German Editions of the Classics are borrowed wholesale and systematically from each other, the choice of points for illustration and explanation, the illustrations and explanations, and even the words and structure of the notes often being nearly identical throughout, so much so, that were it not for the prefaces and *indices,* one would be tempted to think that Piderit and Jahn or Halm and Richter are but different names of the same persons. Probably this is done by express or tacit understanding between the respective proprietors and editors on the principle of 'give and take'—*sumimus ingue vicem praebemus mutua*—and does not concern the public directly: still some disadvantages connected with it should be pointed out; the loss to the student of fresh criticism on new points; of independent rival criticism on points and theories already mooted; the factitious weight given to one editor's views by the apparently independent support of another; the consequent tendency to perpetuate old mistakes and encourage a somewhat servile rote-repetition of criticism, now-a-days perhaps too prevalent. Strange errors are not only made, but left unnoticed. Critics of the twentieth century will think but little of our scholarship when they find a mistake like the following, in a well-known and useful edition. "Und wenn Cicero nicht lange darnach mit unzweideutiger Beziehung auf den Orator, in einem Antwortschreiben an ebendenselben Cornificius erwidert 'hin und wieder richte ich mein Augen-

[1] Read before the Cambridge Philological Society, December 2, 1875.

merk darauf, euch zu grossen Rednern zu machen' so war diess nicht blos in Scherze, sondern in gewisser Beziehung auch ernstlich gemeint." [Cic. Orator. Piderit, 1865, pref. 1. § 17.] The passage referred to is as follows:—*quod extremum fuit in ea epistola quam a te proxime accepi, ad id primum respondebo. Animum advorti enim hoc vos magnos oratores facere non nunquam.* [Cic. ad Fam. XII. 18. 1.]

Except for such hurried bookmaking, and for a careless acceptance of anything that appears in print, it would be hard to understand how an old mistake with regard to a passage in Cicero and in Quintilian on the usage of Greek characters in their alphabet, could have been perpetuated in successive modern editions. The two passages are as follows:—(1) Cic. Orator, XLVIII. 160, *nec enim Graecam litteram adhibebant, nunc autem etiam duas*—and (2) Quint. Inst. Or. XII. 10. 27. *Jucundissimas ex Graecis litteras non habemus.*—the question being whether Φ and Υ are meant (as Jahn and Piderit and others hold), or Υ and Z. The reasons for thinking the latter are as follows.

(1) Under the head of what Cornificius calls '*elegantia*', Cicero is here considering the question of the proper forms and pronunciation of certain words [cf. § 149, "*ut cohaereant extrema cum primis, eaque sint quam suavissimis vocibus*"]. Among other points the omission of the aspirates with consonants by older and more correct writers, e.g. '*triumpos*', '*Kartaginem*', '*sepulcra*', '*coronas*' (sometimes evidently '*choronas*'), '*lacrymas*'—the last three allowed by popular usage in Cicero's time. "So too," he continues, "'*Burrum*' for '*Pyrrhum*', '*Bruges*' for '*Phryges*', *nec enim Graecam litteram adhibebant, nunc autem etiam duas*; and having to say *Phrygum, Phrygibus*, it was absurd either on the one hand to use a Greek letter even for Roman inflexions [read with Madv. '*etiam barbaris casibus*'] or to adopt the Greek form only in the nominative."

That '*duas*' does not mean '**Φ**' and '**Υ**' seems almost certain, because (i) if the word '*Phryges*' is referred to, as it is, '*utramque*' would then have been used; (ii) '*litteram*' would have been '*litteras*'; (iii) '*litteram*' must surely be a character and not a sound; if so, '*litteram*' must be '**Φ**' or '**Υ**': but as '**Φ**' the character was *not* used subsequently. '**Φ**' can neither be

alluded to in '*litteram*' or '*duas*'. Therefore '*litteram*' must mean 'T'. The sentence runs on—"It was absurd in those times to say '*Phrygum*' &c. instead of '*Brugum*' i.e. Greek 'T' with Latin '*-um*', or to say nom. '*Phryges*'—gen. '*Brugum*', and still in spite of that we now say both '*Phryges*' and '*Pyrrhum*' [instead of '*Burrum*']". It will be noticed that these two coupled together are both examples of the usage of '*y*' and not both of 'Φ'.

Corssen therefore very properly says (p. 6) on this passage—"Cicero can only have meant by the *two Greek letters* Y and Z". Cf. also Corss. p. 12—"Y and Z always counted as Greek letters". Cf. Cic. de Nat. Deor. II. 93; Quint. I. 4. § 9; Ritschl zur Gesch. des Lat. Alphabets in Rhein. Mus. 1869, 1—32; Priscian I. 8, p. 45 Krehb.

(2) And now to reconcile this with the passage in Quintilian and Quintilian with himself and Corssen with himself. Quintilian, in talking of the inferiority of Latin generally to Greek in the way of eloquence, says:—"Latin to begin with is harsher actually in its sounds—the sweetest of the Greek letters we do not possess, (i) one a *vowel*, the other a *consonant*, the sweetest in utterance in their language; (ii) these we borrow when we use their names; (iii) and then the *oratio* somehow brightens up as in '*Ephyris*' and '*Zephyris*'; (iv) write these words in our characters, you get something heavy and outlandish, and fresh letters come in, harsh and uncouth; (v) and these are unknown to Greece; (vi) for that letter *too* ['*et illa*'] which comes sixth in our alphabet is very harsh."

It is agreed on either side that Y is one of the letters here meant, as in Cicero. The question left is, whether the second is Z or Φ? and this can only be settled by trying to see how either fits each clause.

(i) Can '*ph*' (probably a hard aspirated sound) be called "*jucundissima ex Graecis littera*"? I see no reason why 'Z' should not be (*spirant* is surely not used philologically, of a 'spirant' exclusively).

(ii) Did the Latins borrow 'Φ' for Greek names? If it is replied that the *sound* is meant, then surely they borrowed not only 'Φ' but 'th' (Θ), 'ch' (Χ), and the "*nunc autem*

duas" should have been '*quattuor*' or more. It is true of Z in Quintilian's time, for Z, found in very early inscriptions, had fallen out of the language, and had been replaced by *S* or *SS*; cf. '*comissor*', '*Atticisso*', '*Saguntum*', [cf. Corssen, p. 295, &c.] "exceptions in Plautine MSS. being due to copyists".

(iii) How can the usage of '*ph*' be said to brighten up the 'oratio' in '*Ephyris*' and '*Zephyris*'? The argument that there is no need for adding '*Zephyris*' except to give an instance of the '*Z*' is fair, though weakened by the fact that we find afterwards "*servum* et *cervum*"; certainly a Roman could hardly have used the instance '*Zephyris*' without thinking of Z as a Greek letter, and might intelligibly talk of its use as adding something to the *oratio*.

(iv) "Write these words in Roman characters" &c.; we get EFURIS,—SEFURIS. The assumption that Quintilian is here talking of the two first-named letters, *and those only*, is gratuitous, and the source of the mistake; that he is talking of these, i.e. 'S' and 'Y' *and also of a third*, 'F', is shewn by the words "*nam et illa*" which follow, which of themselves almost prove that F and Φ were not alluded to before. Corssen then (p. 137), when he says on this passage: "Quintilian finds the Latin sounds F and U when compared with Φ and Υ harsh" can be referring only to the last part of this passage and not the first.

(v) The letters then unknown to Greece will be V and F: the two *jucundissimae litterae* first mentioned being Y and Z. For it is incredible that F, which Cicero calls '*insuavissima littera*', should be the Latin equivalent of what Quintilian calls '*jucundissima littera*', though it might well represent roughly, as it did in the fourth century A.D., the hard sound of Φ.

The question still remains whether "*nunc autem duas*" in Cicero is not suspiciously like the gloss of a commentator referring either to the passage of Quintilian or to the later usage of of F for PH? If not, it is a very meagre and pointless digression of Cicero's.

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SOME REMARKS ON THE GOTHIC PARTICLE -H, -UH[1].

THAT the *-h*, *-u-h*, -que,—which are always enclitics, but only added to parts of the verb, to pronouns and particles, never to substantives—have been derived from the interrogative, originally demonstrative root *ka*, *kva*, and stand in closest relationship with Skr. *ká*, Zd. *ca* and also the Greek *τέ*, and Lat. *que*, which are all likewise enclitic, is placed beyond doubt both by their sound and their employment. The Indo-Germanic primitive form of the particle was therefore *ka*, and corresponding to it is the Gothic *-h*, where the vowel must have dropped off. In this form the particle appears in all monosyllabic words which end in a vowel, and in those polysyllabic words whose final vowel is long. On the other hand, *-uh* follows forms terminating (as to sound) in a consonant, and such polysyllabic words as terminate in a short vowel (*a*), with suppression of this short vowel. An exception to this rule is made in some cases of *hvaz-uh* and *hvarjiz-uh*, quisque, in those, viz., whose datives (masc. sing.) are, not *hvammuh*, *hvarjammuh*, as one would expect to accord with *þammuh*, but *hvammeh*, *hvarjammeh*. The accusatives masc. are not (corresponding to *þanuh*) *hvanuh* and *hvarjanuh*, but *hvanoh* and *hvarjanoh*. The nominative and accusative neuter of *hvarjizuh*, namely *hvarjatoh*, also differ from *þatuh*. *Hva-h* is formed regularly from *hvazuh*; the *t*-form of the neuter does not occur in the Gothic in this pronoun.

[1] Read before the Cambridge Philological Society, December 2, 1875.

See *hvammeh:* Mc. 14. 49; Lk. 2. 41; 6. 31, &c.
„ *þis-hvammeh:* Mt. 4. 25; Lu. 4. 6.
„ *hvarjammeh:* Lu. 19. 26; Rom. 12. 3, &c.
„ *ainhvarjammeh:* Lu. 4. 40; Skeir. VII. 6, &c.
„ *hvanoh:* Lu. 9. 23.
„ *hvarjanoh:* Lu. 9. 14; 16. 5, &c.
„ *hvarjatoh:* Mc. 9. 49; Skeir. VI. b.

These forms are antiquarian. In them the law of final sounds has operated incompletely or not at all. For *hvammê-h* would be equivalent to an original *kasmâi-ka;* the *i* probably dropped off; but while *â* is elsewhere shortened (*hvamma, þamma*), it has here preserved its length before the *-h* suffixed. In like manner is it with the accusatives *hvanô-h, hvarjanô-h,* and with *hvarjatô-h,* only that in these the other substitute of an original *â* is seen. Scherer (Zur Geschichte der deutschen Sprache, p. 107 ff.) deals with the remarkable *a* which, as a support to the consonant sounded at the end of a word, is added to the neutral *-t,* to the accusative masc. of the pronominal declension, and to the 1st and 3rd persons plural of the conjunctive. I quite agree with him if he explains this supplemental element from its primitive *am,* which also occurs in Skr. in the pronominal declension; for example, in *id-am* = Lat. *id, im-am* = Old Latin *im, em,* more recently *eum.* That this *a* is to be put down for the Gothic as originally long (*â* is likewise used as the substitute for the dropped nasal, cf. O.N. *â, î* = *ana, in*) is clear, not only from the forms cited, *hvan-ô-h,* &c., but especially from the fact that short *a* could not have existed in consequence of the law of final-sounding vowels.

How then is *-uh,* as connected with *-h,* to be explained; if, as no one can doubt, the latter represents the original and, so to speak, more organic form?

Bopp (Vergleichende Grammatik, II. 213) has explained *u* as an auxiliary vowel. But in forms like *þanuh, iddjuh,* and the like, this vowel would surely not be at all necessary. On this account Sonne (Kuhn's Zeitschrift XII. 289), with whom Scherer (Z. G. d. D. Sp. p. 374) agrees without reserve, gives another explanation. He recognises in *u* the prominent particle *u* frequently added as an enclitic in the Veda, especially

in cases of pronouns, which is confessedly contained also in the Greek *ὁ-υ-το, το-ύ-το = sa-u-ta, tad-u-tad.* To me, this explanation is not convincing. If we proceed from words ending in a consonant, as *hvas, anþar, in, þis, qaþ*, then the particle following them, whenever it consisted only of the aspirate *h*, could only with difficulty be made audible; and we find the origin of an intermediate sound to be natural. If this be the origin of the *u*, the absence of any 'Brechung' is clearer. And might not *þammuh, þatuh, þanuh* be formed after the analogy of such current forms? Yes, we may perhaps be allowed to consider the accusative also, and the neuter, as quite normal. For we may suppose a time in which the neuter sounded as *thad*, the accusative *than* (cf. *þan = tum*); and to these the particle was joined with the auxiliary vowel. When then gradually, in the neuters in *-t* and in the accusative, an *a* was suffixed, and the dative also abridged its termination to *a*, the rule was followed in the continuance of *þat-u-h, þan-u-h*, as compared with *þat-a, þan-a;* so that all polysyllabic word-forms generally, which had their termination in *a*, would add the particle in the form *-uh.*

Scherer (l. c. p. 374) deems it inadmissible to identify *-h, -uh* with the Latin *-que* (consequently also with the Greek *τε*, Skr. *ká*). It may, according to him, only be compared with the Latin *-ce, -c*; "the primitive form *kva* would have produced *hu.*" But we are by no means bound to admit that, in the particle, the same substitution of the aspirate for the guttural must have occurred as in the interrogative pronouns.

To postulate a special demonstrative root *ka* beside the like sounding interrogative is not at all requisite (cf. Curtius, No. 650). So *-que* and *-ce, -c*, ultimately proceed from the same root. And is their original identity not made probable by the co-existence of *ne-c* and *ne-que, a-c* (*= at-c*) and *at-que?*

As regards grammatical form, we may consider the particle *-ka* as coinciding with the root *-ka.* Perhaps, however, it may also be conceived as an abbreviated instrumental case; the Greek *καὶ* is the locative of the same root. (Cf. Curtius, No. 27.)

Now with respect to the employment of *-uh*, it serves (1) as

a copulative conjunction in the sense of the Latin *-que*. It is also not seldom used where, according to our ideas, the union of two actions by means of a conjunction would not be needed; thus, after the participle, e.g. *jah athaitands sumana magive frahuh;* Lu. 15. 26.

Like τὲ and *-que*, *-uh* can appear between prepositions and cases, e.g. *inuh jainamma mela;* Mt. 11. 25.

That *inu-h* = *ohne*, like the Latin *absque*, admits with special readiness the enclitics (always in the Gospels) is acknowledged. Also in *inuh þis*, "therefore," and in *duh-þe*, *duþ-þe*, which are of similar meaning, the connection with the preceding is, almost without exception, indispensable. The negation *ni* contains, through the suffixed *-h*, the meaning "and not," "nor," "not once," and agrees in form and meaning with the Latin *ne-que*, Osc. *nei-p*. As being conspicuous, and probably as being true, is to be taken along with it the absence of 'Brechung' of the *i* in *nih*.

(2) *-uh* follows other conjunctions, whose sentence-joining power it strengthens. It is affixed to the preceding word, in that case, only in *-uh-þan*, *-uþ-þan*, which, like *þan* alone, may be translated δέ. Similarly, but more rarely, *-uh* is joined to *iþ* = *autem*, but so that it is added to the verb of the sentence (*iþ* standing always at the beginning); e.g., *iþ Jesus qaþuh*, Mk. 10. 38; *iþ is vissuh*, Lu. 6. 8. In compound verbs, *-uh* seems to appear between the preposition and the verb. At least this position is observed in the two instances hitherto cited as appropriate (*iþ Jesus uzuhhof*, John 11. 41: and *iþ is ubuhvopida*, Lu. 18. 38). Once *-uh* is directly joined to the conjunction which it strengthens. It is indispensable in *ja-h*, καὶ (cf. *at-que*), at least in the Gothic; but the O.S. *ja*, *ge*, *gi*, A.S. *ge*, show the unsuffixed form. To the interrogative *-u* an *-h* is occasionally added, by way of supplement, in the double interrogation. The simple *þau* (ἢ ἄν) receives *-h* but seldom, *aiþ þau* (ἢ ἄν) not at all. In *sve-þauh* and *þauh-jabai*, it is never omitted, nor perhaps even in *andizuh—aiþþau* (either—or); but there is only one case in point to show this (Lu. 16. 13).

In the adverbs *nu-h*, *þanuh* (*tunc*), *þaruh*, *þaþroh*, *sruh* (*sic*), *-h* is prominent; cf. Gr. τό-τε, πό-τε, Dor. τό-κα, and

generally the -τε which is added to numerous conjunctions and adverbs.

(3) *-uh* stands in the demonstratives. The simple demonstrative pronoun and article *sa, so, þata* contains, through the suffix, the strengthened meaning *hic,* or even *isque. Sah, soh, þatuh,* translate especially *οὗτος, καὶ αὐτός, ἐκεῖνος,* and not rarely the relative *ὅς*; cf. Grimm, Deutsche Grammatik, IV. 445.

(4) Of *sumzuh* only some cases occur; the nominative of the sing. and plur. *sumzuh* (*sumsuh,* 1 Cor. 7. 7) *sumaih,* and the dative *summamuh* (1 Cor. 12. 10). Then again, with *-uh-þan, -uþ-þan,* the dative plural is *sumaimuþ-þan;* the accus. is *sumansuh-þan,* and the neuter *sumuþ-þan* (sing. Rom. 9. 21; plur. 2 Tim. 2. 20). These suffixed forms are employed in enumeration (*ὅς μὲν—ὅς δὲ, ἄλλοι—ἄλλοι δὲ,* &c.), and indeed *sums* either takes *-uh* in both members, or (only in the second) *-uh,* or *-uh -þan;* cf. Schulze, Gothisches Glossar. p. 328.

(5) Interrogative pronouns, in fine, become indefinite by means of *-uh,* with which again the Latin *-que* harmonises. Thus *hvaz-uh, πᾶς, quisque; hvazuh saei, sahvazuh saei, þishvazuh saei* (*ei, izei*), *quicunque;* with the adverbs *hveh = certe, þishvazuh þei = ubicunque, þishvaduh þadei* or *þei = quocunque.* Also *hvaz-jizuh* = "everyone," *ἕκαστος πᾶς*; *ainhvarjizuh, unusquisque, εἷς ἕκαστος.* The dative *ainhvaþarammeh* also warrants *ainhvaþaruh* = "each of two" (Skeir. III. b); while *hvaþaramma* is used indefinitely, and consequently for *hvaþarammeh.*

The existing German dialects know no more the pronominal suffix *-h.* Of the conjunctions some traces only have been preserved (in composition). O.H.G. *jo-h = et, que, indi joh = atque,* is the Goth. *jah;* O.H.G. *no-h,* O.S. *no-h,* Goth. *ni-h,* originally *na-ka:* and if O.H.G. *doh* is to be put down as equivalent to the Goth. *þauh, þauhjabai,* this would be the third citable remnant of the suffixed particle. O.N. *né = neque* bears witness by the length of the vowel to an earlier *ne-h.*

Another suffix is pointed to by the O.S. *ja-c = et etiam, ne-k = neque,* O.N. *na-c, nö-c,* in *nok-kurr, aliquis, nak-kvaðr, aliquid,* &c. (Grimm, Gr. III. 71), and *o-k, et etiam,* in so far as it stands for *jo-c.* This *-k* is the prominent particle *ga,* Greek

γὲ, Dor. γὰ, Slav. *ze*, Lith. *gi*, *gu* (Skr. aspirated *gha*, *ha*, *hi*), which, as is well known, is contained also in *mi-k*, *þu-k*, *si-k*; cf. Schleicher, Compendium, p. 629; Scherer, l.c. p. 241. We have to admit it likewise in the Goth. *a-k* = *sed*, *au-k* = *nam*, *enim*.

In the next place, as regards *ak* (O.H.G. *oh*, Gr. III. 277; O.S., A.S. *ac*) it has its nearest affinities in Ecclesiastical Slav. *a* = *et*, *ut*, *sed*, *vel* (Scherer, l. c. p. 285); to which probably the Lith. *o*, "and, but" (Greek δὲ, cf. Schleicher, Lithauische Grammat. p. 329) will belong. This *a* may, as Scherer admits, be identical with the Skr. *â*, which as a preposition means *ad*, but stands also as a conjunction = "thereto, further, also, and."

As the O.H.G. *ouh*, *auh*, O.S. *ôk*, A.S. *eác*, have the meaning *etiam*, *quoque*, it is maintained that there is a verbal origin for *auk* in the root *auk*—"to increase;" cf. Gr. III. 274. Against this derivation, however, contends quite decisively the meaning of the Goth. *auk* (for). To me a pronominal origin seems much more probable. The Greek *αὖ* "again, on the other hand," *αὖ-τε*, *αὐ-τάρ*, "further, yet," Lat. *au-tem*, are offered for formal comparison. We may, I think, be allowed to regard the Zd. *ava*, Eccles. Slav. *ovù*, *ille*, as the fundamental root; which is perhaps also contained in the Greek *αὐ-τό-ς*. I admit that neither the meaning of *auk* (cf. besides the Latin *nam*, *enim* with *ana*, "ille") nor of *ouh* agrees with that of *αὖ* and *autem*. Yet this is no reason for making the suggested connections untenable. Certainly no one holds the opinion that *auk* is to be identified with *ouh*, although the one is *nam*, the other *etiam*. Words and particles of this kind are originally of general signification, which can easily become fixed in different ways.

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WAS *HOC* NOMINATIVE AND ACCUSATIVE INVARIABLY LONG?

In emending some passages of Lucilius, which will be found in Mr Wordsworth's Fragments and Specimens of Early Latin, p. 320, I have assumed that *hŏc* (nom.) was at the time when Lucilius wrote sometimes short. Mr Munro denies this. '*Hoc* (nom. and accus.) was to Lucilius as long as *hoc* (abl.) or *his* or *hos* or *huic* or *haec;* and so it was to Plautus and Terence as well.' Academy for July 3, 1875, p. 17.

Mr Munro's statement is sufficiently explicit. Not to Lucilius alone, but to Plautus and Terence also, *hoc* nom. and accus. was metrically the exact equivalent of *hoc* abl., as well as of *his, hos, huic, haec.* The decisive tone of this assertion appears to me to be in striking contrast with the admitted difficulties of comic prosody.

The large work of C. F. W. Müller, *Plautinische Prosodie,* 776 pages in all, is from first to last a discussion of *exceptions* to the ordinary rules of metre. With this fact to start with, dogmatic assertions, even when they come from acknowledged masters in the craft, must be received with caution. Suppose it could be satisfactorily shown that no iambic or trochaic line in Latin ends with an iambus of which *hŏc* forms the first half; and suppose on the other hand numerous instances could be adduced of undeniable *hōc,* we should still be very far from the conclusion that *hoc* was in the Roman tragic and comic writers invariably long. All that we could reasonably infer would be that *hoc* was felt to be a sufficiently defined quantity in the

direction of long against short to make its position in a place where none but a short syllable was admissible avoided.

That *hoc* is often used long is of course undeniable.

Ad. 232. *Nunc si hoc omitto ac tum agam ubi illinc rediero.*

And. II. 3. 17. *Sine omni periclo: nam hoc hau dubiumst quin Cremes.*

II. 5. 4. *Ipsum adeo praesto video cum Dauo: hoc agam.*

Bacch. III. 3. 18. *Nego tibi hoc annis viginti fuisse primis copiae.*

On the other hand I do not *know* any instance where a line ends with *hŏc est, hŏc ut* or similar iambi. But what is the case in the other parts of the verse? Are we to set down all the numerous cases where *hoc* is scanned short as merely short *virtually?* Is an anapaest like the following from the Bacchides v. 1. 13,

Hŏc hŏc est, quo pectus peracescit, hoc est demum quod percrucior,

to be treated as if made up of three originally long syllables, of which the two first are slurred over and thus shortened? Will Mr Munro assert that it is impossible to draw distinctions between cases where *hoc* is treated as short and cases where it is short really? To me, I confess, this seems uncritical; it is at least worth while to see what may be said on the other side. Mr Munro writes 'It is exceedingly common for these latter poets to treat all such monosyllables, when preceded by a short monosyllable, or by a pyrrhic with the last syllable elided, exactly like the final syllables of iambi. Thus we find near the beginning of the Andria two consecutive lines commencing thus, "Et id grátum." "Sed hoc míhi molestumst;" where *id* and *hoc* are slurred over just as the *manu* and *bonis* already spoken of': viz. in *manu gessit gloriose*, and *Ex Graecis bonis Latinas fecit non bonas.*

That many instances of *hoc* shortened in this way occur in Terence and Plautus, is shewn at length by C. F. W. Müller, p. 324 sqq.

Aul. II. 9. 7. *Sed quid hoc clamoris oritur hinc ex proxumo.*

Hec. 97. *Sed quid hoc negotist?*

Men. 350. *Scin quod hoc sit spinter?*

Pseud. 479. *Sed quid ais? quid hoc quod te rogo?*
1179. *Scilicet solitum esse.* H. *Sanine estis?* B. *quid hoc quod te rogo?*
and so 930, Truc. II. 2. 18.

Similarly pp. 319—326 *hanc hunc hinc hic* (nom.), p. 390 *hac haec has*, p. 393 *hic* (adverb), p. 398 *huc* and *hoc* (adverb), p. 400 *huic; hĭs, hŏc* (abl.) *hŭius* are doubtful, *hĭ* unexampled. But it must not be supposed that there is no difference in the frequency with which each of these is shortened; *hŭnc* is common, and so are *hinc hic* (pronoun and adverb), *hoc* (nom. and accus.): *hŭc haec* are not very infrequent; but the rest are rare, possibly indeed not genuine. Surely this difference is significant, it corresponds to a felt difference in the weight of the syllable; *hos has hae hi his hoc* abl. were not in Plautus and Terence exactly on a par with *hunc huic hic hoc* (nom. and accus.) because there was more to be got over by the ear: *quid hic huic* was tolerable, *quid huic hic* was not. I would not put aside the commonness of *hic hoc hunc* in the language of everyday life as contributing to shorten them twenty times where *hac haec has his hoc* (abl.) are shortened once: but this is hardly in itself sufficient to account for the disproportion.

The result of a comparison of C. F. W. Müller's instances is that *hŏc* is considerably commoner than *hĭc* (nom. sing.), *hĭc* rather commoner than *hŭnc: hŏc* occurs thirty times, for *hĭc* rather over, *hŭnc* rather under, twenty. Now Diomedes p. 430 Keil ranks *hic* and *hoc* together as *communes syllabae.* He says *Sextus* (the sixth case where a syllable is common) *est cum pronomina hic vel hoc c littera terminata vocalis statim subsequitur, quoniam in his pronominibus c littera crassum et quasi geminatum continet sonum. Est enim in hoc tam prima pedis syllaba longa quam tertia brevis. Hic uir hic est tibi quem promitti saepius audis.* Similarly Probus de ultimis syllabis p. 258 Keil *Possunt etiam videri communes eae syllabae, quae c littera terminantur, hic vel hoc; quarum de natura disputatum est. Hae enim syllabae apud Vergilium et longae et breves ponuntur si a vocali excipiantur. Longae sunt in his 'pro Iuppiter; ibit Hic ait' et 'Hoc illud germana fuit;' alibi autem breves, Hic uir, hic est, tibi quam promitti*

saepius audis. He refers in the words *de quarum natura disputatum est* to p. 221 Keil where *c* is stated to form an exception to the other mute letters b d g h k q p t in representing a double consonant as in the lengthened *hoc* and *hic.*

How did Diomedes and Probus arrive at this conclusion? Certainly not from Virgil, who has two instances of *hĭc,* none of *hŏc:* nor from his predecessors Catullus and Lucretius, or the poets who followed Virgil, so far as they are known to us. It must have been, I think, from the earlier poetry: the Comic and Tragic Writers, and Lucilius. The laws of prosody as enforced by the hexameter poets from Ennius onwards made it impossible to treat *hunc hanc haec* as short under any circumstances; they could not have been so used by Lucilius, they could not have been mentioned by the grammarians from this point of view. This makes the fact of *hĭc* and *hŏc* being placed by Probus and Diomedes on a level more remarkable and significant. The light which modern criticism has thrown on the metres of Terence and Plautus is misleading when we return from it to the point of view of the grammarians. To them *hunc hinc,* &c. would always have represented a long syllable; hence if *hĭc* and *hŏc* was an inference from the comic writers and Lucilius, it must have been obtained, not from such lines as those mentioned by Mr Munro, e.g. *quid hŏc quod te rogo, In hŏc biduom* (though such scannings or slurrings may have contributed to form such inference), but from actual or supposed shortenings in accordance with the ordinary laws of prosody. From this point of view examine a line like Adelph. IV. 5. 73

Quid hoc est negoti? hoc est patrem esse, aut hoc est filium esse?

Here *hoc* is used three times, once necessarily long *aūt hōc,* once presumably *hōc ēst patrem esse;* what is its quantity in the third case, *quid hoc est?* It can hardly form one syllable with *est, Quid hocst:* is it a long vowel slurred and treated as short? This is certainly not the most ready or natural inference. Analogy is a tolerable guide in such cases and the parallel case of *hic* would at once suggest itself. *Hic* (nom.) could be indifferently long or short; it was used under conditions and in

circumstances not distinguishable from those of *hŏc;* it was a natural conclusion that *hoc* was indifferently long or short also. *Quid hoc est* was, I believe, to Probus and Diomedes not distinguishable from *Quid hic est,* i.e. a strict anapaest. Can it be *demonstrated* that it was anything different to Terence himself? Compare again the following lines.

Pers. 544: *Hospes ille qui has tabellas attulit.* D. *Hĭcinēst?* T. *Hĭc ēst.*

And. 236:

Hŏcĭnēst humanum factu aut inceptu? hŏcĭnest officium patris?

Adelph. 702:

Hic non amandus? hĭcine non gestandus in sinust? hem.

Adel. 237:

Hŏcine illo dignumst? hocine incipere Aeschinum?

In all these cases *hicine hocine* seem to have their first syllable shortened except in the second *hocine* of Ad. 237. Now reasoning from Pers. 544 it would be a natural conclusion that *hĭcinest* was short because *hic* was short: and vice versa it would be no less natural an inference from Ad. 237 where *hŏcine* is followed by *hōcine* that *hoc* itself was both long and short. In other words if we were called upon to pronounce upon the quantity of *hoc* in Terence and Plautus from their works alone, it would be a plausible inference that it stood on the same ground as *hic,* and might like *hic* be a short syllable.

But if this is a fair inference from a comparison of *hic hoc* in the scansion of the comic writers, it is not less justifiable on other grounds. There seems to be no reason for supposing that the stem *ho-* was originally long. If it were, how is it that it is short in *hodie,* apparently an abbreviation of *hoc* (abl.) *die.* How is it that *hŭic* is admitted as a disyllable by Statius S. I. 1. 107 *Laetus huic dono videas dare tura nepotes,* II. 135 *Falsus huic pennas et cornua sumeret aethrae Rector,* as expressly stated by Priscian XIII. 14? For even if Statius wrote *Laetius huic, Falsas huic,* there must have been good ground for Priscian's assertion *per dihaeresin videtur protulisse?* That is to say, he must have found this reading in MSS. which he con-

sidered to be authoritative. Even *huius* (*hoius*) was believed by Lachmann, on Lucr. III. 374, to be scanned with the first *u* short in Eun. v. 5. 10 *Quidquid huius factumst,* Heaut. III. 2. 40 *Siquid huius simile,* And. II. 6. 8 *Propter huiusce hospitai consuetudinem,* cf. Wagner, Introd. to Aulularia, p. XLVIII. Whether in these cases *huius,* or a shorter form *huis,* was used by the poet, makes little difference; in either case the syllable was short. Short, I say, not shortened; which prejudges the question. Nothing can be inferred from the ordinarily long *u* of *huius cuius* as to the original length of the stem; and if it is asserted that *hūi-us cūius* preceded *hŭius cŭius, hūic cūi* preceded *hŭic cŭi,* as *ēi* preceded *ĕi,* some proof of each one of the assertions should be produced of a more convincing kind than any which I have seen. Corssen, I am aware, considers *hoc* to have been originally *hod-ce* then *hō-ce hōc* (II. 457); he compares it with *quocirca* which he conceives to have been originally *quod circa.* This is to explain a doubtful etymology by another as doubtful; it is possible *quo circa* is a causal ablative followed by a preposition expressing the same idea, but syntactically independent 'for which along of it': at any rate there seems to be no reason for this inserted *d* in *ho-d-ce,* except the wish to account for the syllable being ordinarily, and therefore presumably always, long. Starting from a different point of view, viz. that *hoc* is used by the comic writers in situations metrically so similar to *hic* as to raise a question whether the two words did not stand on exactly the same footing, I should be willing to admit the ablatival *d* as an explanation of the undoubted length of the ablative *hōc:* but I should, for that as well as other reasons, be inclined to deny it in the nom. and accus., where its introduction seems arbitrary. For, we must remember, supposing *hoc* like *hic* to have been originally short, the tendency of final *c* to lengthen syllables, as well as the natural length of *hic* (adverb) and *hoc* (abl.), would be quite enough to account for *hoc* becoming like *hic* regularly long: as indeed the short *hic* in three passages of Lucretius, two of Virgil, one of Tibullus[1] is no indication of the ordinary usage of classical poetry, in which both *hic* (nom.), and *hic* adverb are equally

[1] See L. Müller de Re Metrica, p. 343.

long. Even L. Müller who denies *hŏc* in Lucilius admits the possibility of *hŏce* (XXIX. 98), by which I presume, he intimates that the word does not stand on a par with *hoc* abl., but may, by an artifice, be used short.

The two passages quoted by this authority for *hŏc* are too doubtful to be of any great weight. The first from Seneca's Phoenissae 550

totus hoc exercitus
Hŏc utrinque populus omnis hoc vidit soror

is not the MS. reading, if Richter and Peiper's apparatus criticus may be trusted. The other, Priap. 51. 28, *Et nos hoc ipsum quod minamur invitat* is improved in sense as well as in metre, by the correction which Bücheler adopts *Hoc nos et ipsum:* if *hŏc* was admitted, it is against the metrical rigour usually observable in this collection. The MSS. too are late and not very good of the Priapia, and in such a dislocation of monosyllables is a frequent phenomenon. *Hŏc* therefore may be counted here as a bare possibility, and no more.

The case is very different with Lucilius. He occupies an altogether peculiar place in Latin literature, as removed from Ennius on the one hand as from Horace on the other. It is true that Horace's Satires, especially the first book, continually remind us of Lucilius; but none of the longer fragments of Lucilius could have been written by Horace. To take a single instance, the fine description of virtue, thirteen lines in all, contains two licences which would have been inadmissible in Horace, the elision of final *s*, and the absence of caesura in *Deinde parentum, tertia iam postremaque nostra.* Again Lucilius shortens *tamĕtsi* just as Plautus or Terence might; to Horace such a liberty would have seemed impossible. Speaking generally we should not be wrong in saying that his prosody, so far as Nonius will permit us to judge of it, was, not indeed fluctuating or uncertain, but less rigorously fixed than that of Lucretius or Horace, perhaps even than that of Accius. Hence I hold myself justified, where I emend Lucilius, in admitting some things which I should not admit as possible in the stricter prosody of later writers. And here I must confess I hold the MSS. of Nonius to be most trustworthy guides: and it is from

this point of view that, in common with Mr Wordsworth, I find so much to except to in L. Müller's edition. The best MSS. of Nonius, notably the Harleian, in which I have made a very careful collation of about half the Lucilian passages, may, in my experience, generally be trusted as regards the order of the words; but words, and parts of words, especially the numerous Greek words which occur in every page, are not unfrequently omitted, repeated, or mutilated. The passage of Nonius which Mr Munro refers to is written in the Harleian MS. as follows:

Non haec quid ualeat quidue hoc intersiet illud; cognoscis primum hoc quod dicimus esse poema; pars est parua poesis[1] idem epistola itemque; uis non magna poema ē illa poesis opus totum totaque illa summa est una ΘЄCIC ut annales enni atquestoc · unum est hoc maius multo est quam quod dixi ante poema; quapropter dico nemo qui culpat homerum; perpetuo culpat neque quod dixi ante poesin; in·uersum unum culpat uerbum enthymemate mālo cumque,

i.e. as I read it

Nunc haec quid ualeant quidue †hoc intersiet illud
Cognoscis. Primum hoc quod dicimus esse poema,
Pars est parua poema.
Epistula item quaeuis non magna poemast.
Illa poesis opus totum ut tota Ilia summast
Una (Π)OЄCIC, ut annales Enni. Atque si (h)oc unumst,
Hoc maius multost quam quod dixi ante poema.
Quapropter dico, nemo qui culpat Homerum
Perpetuo culpat, neque quod dixi ante poesin,
Versum unum culpat uerbum enthymema locumue.

In the first line I have obelized *hoc* as not feeling sure that Lucilius did not construct *interesse*[2] 'to differ' with a simple ablative, instead of the usual abl. with *ab*: and I may take the occasion to remark that in Lucilius, if anywhere, preconceived views of syntax and prosody ought, in my judgment, to give

[1] Over poesis is written poema by a later hand.
[2] See Hildebrand on Apuleius, de Mundo, c. 16.

way to the MS. tradition, where it seems indubitable: and this for two reasons, first, because Latin was still comparatively unfixed and rigid when Lucilius wrote, was being experimented upon, and in fact under trial: secondly, because satire, the half-way house between the licence of comedy and the rigour of more serious poetry, is precisely the place where freedoms of expression, construction or metre might seem natural and to be expected. In vv. 5, 6 I have followed the MSS. as closely as I can, and though I do not profess to think the whole of my emendation certain, it at least keeps the order of the words without any of the violent transpositions or dislocations (as I think they may well be called) of most editors. By reading (Π)ΟΕCIC for ΘΕCIC, the rest of the line seems to fall naturally into the required form: it will not be denied, I believe, to bear a striking resemblance to many of the rougher hexameters of Horace's Satires. The omission of *h* in *hoc* is so common as to require no illustration. The meaning is 'that other word *poesis* means an entire work, as for instance the sum total of the Iliad is a single πόησις, and as the Annals of Ennius are. And so if this is allowed to be one (whole), this one is much greater than the *poema* of which I spoke before.' The passage of Lucilius just treated is supplemented by another found in Velius Longus, de Orthographia. It is given in Putsch p. 2214 thus. 'Sed scilicet si hoc sectentur, possent etiam plerosque consonantes et omnes semivocales pro syllabis ponere, nam apud Lucilium in IX. (in quo de litteris disputat) omnes vicem syllabarum implent, cum dicit: *a re non multum abest hoc cacosyntheton, atque canina si tibi lingua dico, nihil ad me; nomen hoc illi est.* Item *s nostrum, et semigraece quod dicimus sigma, nihil erroris habet.* Apparet ergo haec nihil aliud quam locum syllabae tenere: nec tamen syllabam scilicet esse.' The italics are as in Putsch. The meaning is clear: both *r* and *s* were words as well as letters; hence *nomen hoc illi est* is intelligible, to say the least, without alteration. Nor does the passage as a whole seem particularly corrupt: there is no doubt as to the metre, any more than as to the metre of the second passage: nay the ī of *semigraece* is a licence which even to Lucilius and his contemporaries might

seem harsh. Hence I accept *hoc* as short in *nomen hoc illi est* and explain the passage as stated in Mr Wordsworth's notes.

To sum up then, I believe that to Plautus and Terence, as well as to Lucilius, *hoc* was only *necessarily* long in the ablative or when it = *huc:* yet that it was preferably used, either definitely long or in *doubtful* situations where a long or short vowel could stand indifferently: that it *was* however used short by the scenic writers and by Lucilius; and that it was from these, or their contemporaries such as Accius in his non-scenic works, that some of the grammarians concluded that it stood on a level with *hic* prosodiacally.

R. ELLIS.

ON THE ARATEA OF GERMANICUS.

PHAEN. 51

Cauda Helicen superat tenditatcynos uran.

So Breysig's MS. *A:* the word between *tendit* and *atcynosuran* is variously supplied in the MSS. *pene, simul, caput.* Probably it was *sinus.*

Phaen. 270

Quin etiam lyra Mercurio dilecta deorum
Plurimulum accepte prohs caelo nitet ante labore
Deuictam effigiem.

For *Plurimulum accepte prohs* Haupt conjectured *Multum accepta epulis,* which after *Mercurio dilecta* seems to crowd the sentence unnecessarily. Perhaps *Lumen adepta trahit caelo; nitet a. l.* cf. 570 *Nullaque nox bis terna minus caelo trahit astra,* and for the meaning the scholia p. 144 Breysig *igitur propterea aries dux aquae immortalis mutatus est et caeli sidera consecutus est.*

Prognost. 77

Vere cauer imbres et fulgera comamenalto

Read

Vere cauere imbres et fulgura, Roma, memento.

R. ELLIS.

ON THREE GREEK EPIGRAMS IN VITRUVIUS.

In the discussion on remarkable springs which Vitruvius has inserted in the eighth book of his *de Architectura* there are three Greek epigrams, which the two best MSS. of that work, Harl. 2767, and Gudianus 69, now at Wolfenbüttel, as collated by Rose and Müller-Strubing in their edition of 1867, exhibit in a very mutilated form. The same three epigrams, however, are also found in a Greek excerpt entitled *κρῆναι καὶ λίμναι. καὶ πηγαὶ. καὶ ποταμοὶ ὅσοι θαυμάσια τινα ἐν αὐτοῖς ἔχουσιν.* contained in a MS. of the Medicean Library at Florence (56. 1), from which they seem to have been copied into a small volume of Greek excerpts from Aristotle and Theophrastus published by H. Stephanus in 1557. They are also printed in a similar but not identical collection published at Frankfort 1587. This Greek excerpt, which Stephanus ascribes to Sotion, has with more probability been attributed by Rose to Isigonus of Nicaea, a writer who lived in the first half of the first century B.C., and whose Ἄπιστα were used and quoted by Varro. (Rose, Anecdota Graeca, p. 10.)

The Greek MS. at Florence belongs to the 13th or 14th century; the Harleian and Gudian MSS. of Vitruvius to the 9th and 11th respectively. This superior antiquity in the Vitruvian MSS. quite corresponds with the superior excellence of their readings in those parts of the epigrams where these MSS. differ from the Greek extract. This will be clear from the third epigram. Rose and Strubing print it as follows:

ὕδατα κρανάεντα βλέπεις, ξένε, τῶν ἄπο χερσὶν
λουτρὰ μὲν ἀνθρώποι(ς ἀβλαβῆ ἐστιν ἔχειν.)

ἢν δὲ βάλῃς κοίλης ποτὶ νηδίος ἀγλαὸν ὕδωρ
(ἄκρα μόνον δολιχοῦ χείλεος ἁψάμενος,)
αὐτῆμαρ πριστῆρες ἐ(πὶ χθονὶ δαιτὸς ὀδόντες)
πίπτουσι, γένυων ὀρφανὰ θέντες ἕδη.

This epigram was written over a fountain at Susa which had the property of making those who drank of it lose their teeth: and the purport of the epigram was in the words of Vitruvius *egregiam esse aquam ad lavandum, sed ea si bibatur excutere e radicibus dentes.*

In v. 1, the Florence excerpt has ὕδατα ταῦτα βλέπεις φοβερά, ξένε, seemingly a different recension from that given above from the MSS. of Vitruvius.

In v. 2, the words in brackets, like the similarly bracketed v. 4, and the latter half of v. 5, are absent from G. and H. It will not, I think, be denied that each of these three bracketed portions is open to suspicion. This is most conspicuous in v. 5, where the word δαιτὸς is awkward if not meaningless. In v. 2 ἔχειν is, to say the least, weak; it is not holding the water in the hands, but taking it up for washing purposes, that might be supposed to be dangerous. The construction of v. 4 is not that of the best Greek, though the peculiar word δολιχοῦ has an air of genuineness. Hence when in v. 3 we come upon so unusual a construction as ἢν δὲ βάλῃς ποτὶ νηδύος ὕδωρ in the sense of swallowing water, we cannot be surprised to find that the Vitruvian MSS. present a perfectly different reading. It is as follows :—

N NA TOM
ΗΝΑΕΜ ΒΗΟΚΟ | ΙΛΟΥΒΟΤΑΝΗΛΕΟCΑΤΜΟΝ ΥΔΩΡ

The letters written above are the variations of Gud. from H. There seems to be little doubt that this verse is

ΗΝ Δ' ΕΜΒΗC ΚΟΙΛΟΥ ΒΟΤΑΝΩΔΕΟC ΑCΤΟΜΟΝ ΥΔΩΡ

'But if you step into the mouth-destroying water of the weedy hollow;' ἄστομον in reference to the destruction of the teeth, whether as 'mouth-destroying,' or 'not capable of being held in the mouth.' Who can doubt which is the true

hand of the epigrammatist? The single word ἄστομον is conclusive, summing up as it does in one incisive, even if somewhat obscure, expression the point, not only of the isolated verse, but of the whole epigram. What is more, we can see from a comparison of this with the corresponding verse in the Greek extract how the epigram may have assumed the shape which it has there. It is obvious that the verse which I have restored from the MSS. of Vitruvius, and which even in these is not quite correctly written, came in a still more incorrect and imperfect form into the hands of a Greek transcriber. He found the outline and filled up the missing letters as he thought best suited to the meaning; wrongly, and with a very imperfect mastery of Greek, but with sufficient attention to the meaning required to make his supplements pass as original for a long period of time. Even Rose gives, as far as I know, no hint of the importance of this verse as exhibited in the two Vitruvian MSS. for determining the value of the additions in the Florence excerpt. For if this reading of v. 3 is right, it would seem to follow that v. 4 as given by the Florence extract is wrong; the sense required is 'if you step into the water high enough to touch it with your lips,' or 'and then drink some of it;' to which the Greek verse ἄκρα μόνον δολιχοῦ χείλεος ἁψάμενος corresponds but imperfectly, if indeed it is at all defensible.

I proceed to the second epigram. Vitruvius says: *Item est in insula Cio fons e quo qui imprudentes biberint fiunt insipientes, et ibi est epigramma insculptum ea sententia, iucundam eam esse potionem fontis eius, sed qui biberit saxeos habiturum sensus. Sunt autem uersus hi.*

Ηαελποψγχρογπομλτοcαιβacaanaβαινcιπεπ | ρocοτηναεπιων

So they are given in the Harleian. This seems to be letter for letter.

'Ηδέ' ἀπὸ ψυχροῦ πόματος λιβὰς ἂν ἀναφαίνει πέτρος ὁ τήνδε πιών.

In the Florence excerpt the following variations occur: 'Ηδεῖα ψυχροῖο ποτοῦ and at the end of the line ἀναβάλλει.

The pentameter is filled up by the words *πηγή· ἀλλὰ νόῳ*, an obvious interpolation, which it is surprising the judgment of the latest editors should allow them to retain, even bracketed as they are. Instead of *ἀναφαίνει*, which I think is beyond doubt, they read *ἀνίησι*: a lection which is not justified by the slight discrepancies presented by the Gudianus[1]. The Greek words prefixed to the distich are *Ἀρίστων δὲ ὁ περιπατητικὸς φιλόσοφος ἐν τῇ Κίῳ πηγήν φησιν ὕδατος εἶναι, ἀφ' ἧς τοὺς πίνοντας ἀναισθήτους γίνεσθαι ταῖς ψυχαῖς*. Hence it seems probable that the word *πέτρος* was repeated twice; we might restore the lacuna conjecturally *πέτρος [ὅδ'· ἀλλ' ἐκ νοῦ πέτρος] ὁ τήνδε πιών*.

The first epigram is as follows: *Arcadia uero ciuitas est non ignota Clitorii, in cuius agris est spelunca profluens aqua, e qua qui biberint fiunt abstemii. Ad eum autem fontem epigramma est in lapide inscriptum hac sententia uersibus graecis, eam non esse idoneam ad lavandum sed etiam inimicam uitibus, quod apud eum fontem Melampus sacrificiis purgavisset rabiem Proeti filiarum restituissetque earum uirginum mentes in pristinam sanitatem. epigramma autem est id quod est subscriptum.*

ἀγρότα σὺν ποίμναις τὸ μεσημβρινὸν ἤν σε βαρύνῃ
δίψος ἀν' ἐσχατίας Κλείτορος ἐρχόμενον,
τῆς μὲν ἀπὸ κρήνης ἀρύσαι πόμα καὶ παρὰ νύμφαις
ὑδριάσι στῆσον πᾶν τὸ σὸν αἰπόλιον·
ἀλλὰ σὺ μήτ' ἐπὶ λουτρὰ βάλῃς χροὶ μή σε καὶ αὖρη
πη(μή)νῃ (τερπνῆς) ἐντὸς ἑόντα μέθης·
φεύγε δ' ἐμὴν πηγὴν μισάμπελον, ἔνθα Μελάμπους
λυσάμενος λύσσης Προιτίδας ἀργαλέης
πάντα καθαρμὸν ἔκοψεν ἀποκρύφου, (εὖτ' ἄρ' ἀπ' Ἄργους
οὔρεα τρηχείης ἦλυθεν Ἀρκαδίης.)

The case is not quite the same here as in the second and third epigrams. Where the Harleian and Gudian MSS. differ from the Florence excerpt, they cannot always be said to be nearer to the truth. Thus in v. 5 the Harleian has

ΝΑΜΑCΙΜΗΤΕΠΙΑΟΥΤΡΑΒΑΤΙΤΕΧΡΑ

[1] So Rose himself admits p. 7, note.

which might suggest Νάμασι μήτ' ἐπὶ λουτρὰ βάλῃς χροί, were it not that ΑΛΛΑ, which the sense requires, seems to lurk in ΑΜΑ, while the Ν might well be repeated from the end of *αἰπόλιον*. Again, in v. 6, where the Harleian gives ΠΗΝΗCΝΤΥC, Rose may be right in explaining this as the relic of *πη(μη) νη (τερπνης) εντος*, though the meaning is somewhat obscure, and CNTYC might as well represent *ἐγγύς*. Nor do I see any reason for doubting the genuineness of the concluding words of v. 9, and the whole of v. 10, though they are absent from both Harl. and Gud. But in v. 8, *λυσάμενος* (*αυσαμενος* Harl.) seems rightly preferred by Rose and Strubing to *λουσάμενος* of the Florence extract, and the weak and pointless *ἀργαλέης*, as against *ἀρτεμέας* (*ἀρτεμειας*) of GH stands on the same footing as *ἀγλαὸν* in the third epigram against *ἄστομον*. In the next verse G and H perhaps point to *ἐπίκρυφον* rather than *ἀπόκρυφον*; but the latter word seems to agree better with Pausanias VIII. 18. 7, *ἐς τοῦτο ἀναφυγεῖν τὸ σπήλαιον τὰς θυγατέρας τοῦ Προίτου μανείσας λέγουσιν, ἃς Μελάμπους θυσίαις τε ἀποῤῥήτοις καὶ καθαρμοῖς κατήγαγεν ἐς χωρίον καλούμενον Λούσους*. The same writer states that the Proetides were cured in the temple of *Artemis* at Lusi: another reason for retaining *ἀρτεμέας* in v. 8.

In v. 10 *ἤλυθον*, the reading of the Florence MS. seems right, not *ἤλυθεν*. Apollod. I. 9. 12 *ὡς δὲ τὰς ἐν Ἄργει γυναῖκας ἐξέμηνε Διόνυσος ἐπὶ μέρει τῆς βασιλείας ἰασάμενος αὐτάς, ἐκεῖ μετὰ Βίαντος κατῴκησε*. II. 2. 2 *Γενόμεναι δὲ ἐμμανεῖς ἐπλανῶντο τὴν Ἀργείαν ἅπασαν. Αὖθις δὲ τὴν Ἀρκαδίαν καὶ τὴν Πελοπόννησον διελθοῦσαι μετὰ ἀκοσμίας ἁπάσης διὰ τῆς ἐρημίας ἐτρόχαζον*. If so, the letters of the MS. as given by Rose p. VII, *ἀπόκρὺφ | αγὰρ* perhaps represent *αἱ γάρ*.

R. ELLIS.

ARCESSO AND ACCERSO.

[Read before the Cambridge Philological Society, May 20, 1875.]

It is now generally, if not universally, admitted that the two forms *arcesso* and *accerso* are both legitimate and well established [Roby, I. p. 240, Zumpt, § 202, Public School Grammar, p. 202]. Many of the older scholars doubted the existence of the latter form, except as a corruption [see reff. in Kritz on Sall. Cat. XL. 6]. But (1) it is vouched for by old grammarians, alike by Charisius (p. 227) and Diomedes (p. 375), who endeavour to make out that it differs somewhat in meaning from *arcesso*, and by Velius Longus (p. 2232), and Terentius Scaurus, who deny the supposed difference [cp. Ellendt, ad Cic. de Orat. II. 27. 117 not. crit.]. And (2) there is abundance of excellent MS. authority in favour of it. In Plautus it is the only form found, according to Lorenz on Mostell. 1030 (critical note, p. 261); and though Ritschl there (1044 R) silently alters it to *arcesserem* (against BCD, A being here defective), he allows it to stand in many other passages, e.g. Men. 729, 763, 770, 776, 875, in all which places Brix (against every MS.) gratuitously reads *arcess-*. This cannot be from any change of Ritschl's opinion between 1851 and 1852, for he leaves *accersam* in Most. 1092. A has however *arcessitu* in Stich. 327, where the other MSS. have *accersitu;* and DZ have *arcessere* in Bacch. 354.

The evidence of the MSS. of Terence is stated in the following table. Where a reference is given without any further note, it is to be understood that *every* MS. collated by Umpfenbach gives the form *accers-*.

Andr. 299; 515 arcessitum (B?) P; 546; 581 (G accessit); 690 (G accessor); 741; 848 (arcesse BC, acerse G); 979.

Eun. 47 (arcesso BDG); 100 (arcessi DG); 510 (adcersier A, arcessirier DG, accersirier EF); 592 (arcessitur DG); 892 (arcessitum CP, arcersitum E).

Heaut. 948; 1047 (arcessi BC).

Hec. 184 (accersiri F); 185; 187 (accessunt E, accersivit G); 466 (adcersi A).

Adelph. 292 (accesset E); 354 accerse P^1 *cum* ADEG (arcesse $BCFP^2$); 620; 699 (arcessas C^1DF^2GP, accessas C^2F^1); 890 (arcessant DG); 904 (accesseris G).

The *only* instance in which the evidence of MSS. is in favour of *arcess-* is in the Perioche of Sulpicius to the Heauton Timorumenos, v. 6, which naturally does not come into the question. In the face of this evidence Mr Parry has the following astonishing note on Andr. II. 1. 64: "We must undoubtedly read 'arcesso' in all cases where this word occurs. The form 'accerso', which is often met with in common editions of the classics is very clumsy(!) and violates all analogy." It is still more surprising to find Dr Wagner also following the precedent of Fleckeisen in silently rejecting the form *accers-*, whatever the authority on which it rests[1]. Surely the value of the Bembine is sufficient to make it worth while at least to discuss a form, which it gives invariably, and in which it is supported by a great preponderance of other evidence. And unless there is much better reason than any which I have been able to discover for its rejection, it is a violation of the canons which since Lachmann have been held by all good scholars as binding in Latin orthography, thus to tamper with our authorities. By doing so we may be—in this case I am inclined to suspect that we shall be—obscuring a fact of considerable interest in the history of the Latin language. In Caecilius Statius (ap. Cic. Tusc. IV. 32. 68, cp. Ribbeck, Com. p. 77) *accersiri* seems to have more authority than *arcessier*. This is

[1] It is apparently by an oversight that Dr Wagner prints *accerse* in Ad. 354, for in his note here he reads *arcesse*.

apparently the only instance in which the word occurs in the dramatic poets; Catullus does not use it.

In Sallust the MSS. vary more, but the form *accers-* has apparently the weight of authority in its favour in Cat. 40, 6; 52, 24; 60, 4: Jug. 39, 2; 43, 3; 62, 4; 84, 2; 109, 4: Hist. Fr. I. 51, 6 (Vat. I. 2, 3): II. 94. The latter fragment is quoted by Priscian, and *accersi* is found in all the MSS[1].

In Vergil we find the word (or words) in four passages: Georg. IV. 224 (*accersere* R): Aen. V. 746 (*accersere* MR); VI. 119 *accersere* MRγ^1c^1, *arcersere* P, *arcessere* γ^2c^2b: X. 11 *arcessite* (without variation apparently).

In Horace there does not seem to be strong authority for *accerse* in Ep. I. 5, 6, or in Ep. II. 1, 228, though Orelli on the latter passage quotes one MS. of saec. X. in favour of it.

In Cicero, the texts used in Facciolati's Nizolius give 15 instances of *accersio* or *accerso*, 15 of *arcessio* or *arcesso* (the pres. ind. being then supposed to vary between the i- and the consonant conjugations). Most editors (e.g. Kayser, Baiter, Halm and Orelli) read uniformly *arcess-*, but Ellendt on De Orat. II. 27, 117, defends *accers-*, and has the same form in III. 24, 92, 38, 156, 'bonis libris addicentibus', adding indeed on the former passage 'ut solent boni libri'. For other instances of strong support for *accers-* see Kühner on Tusc. D. IV. 1, 2, and Moser on de Div. I. 17, 32, II. 4, 11. Unfortunately the *apparatus criticus* in Baiter and Halm rarely notices the variation of form. Where I have been able to test the references in Nizolius, the better MSS. seem generally, but not always, to give *arcess-*.

In Suetonius Roth (against Casaubon's note on Jul. 2) reads *ad accersendam* (Jul. 2), *ad accersendas* (Jul. 58), following as he says (praef. p. xxxvi) 'fidissimum ducem' in the Codex Memmianus.

In Ovid Riese reads *accersite* in Met. VI. 652 (*arcessite* L), *accersitur* Amor. III. 13, 21, but *arcessite* (following, I suppose,

[1] Wagner (*Orthogr. Verg.* p. 417) writes [Kritzium] 'equidem malim ex paucis codd. *arcessere*, quam ex multis *accersere* Sallustio restituisse,' but is not this one of the instances in which, as Mr Munro says (Lucr. 1^3. 31), 'he has chosen to abandon the safe ground of evidence and experience'?

H) in Met. xv. 640, and in Fast. iv. 263 (*accersite* V); *arcessere* in Amor. iii. 2, 37. Merkel has *accersite* in both passages of the Met.

On Livy ii. 29, Drakenborch writes 'Stat fere apud eruditos *accersere* verbum nihili esse, posteriori aevo ex librariorum ignorantia natum, ejusque loco semper optimo seculo scriptum fuisse *arcessere*'. He repeats the opinion on iii. 45, 3; ix. 9, 12; xxiv. 2, 4, and quotes J. F. Gronovius to the same effect on xxxvi. 7, 17. But in all cases he has apparently some MSS. against him. Madvig always (I believe) reads *arcess-*.

On Caesar, B. G. i. 31, Oudendorp writes: '*arcesserentur* ita fide optimarum et plurimarum membranarum semper in Caesare...exhiberi pro *accers.* curavi'. But Dinter in his edition of the Bellum Gallicum (Teubner's series) writes (Praef. p. xv. on i. xxxi. 1) '*accerserentur*, non *arcesserentur* sim. scribendum putavi ubique, quia hic codd. Ma intermediam scripturam, cap. xxxxiiii. 2 omnes *accersitum* habent, v. xi. 3 C Q a *accersi(vi)*, vii. vi. 3 plerique *accerseret*.'

On Lucan, Phars. iv. 484, Burmann rejects *accersere*, adding 'vellem doceri unde hoc verbum derivare potuerit' [Curtius]. But Weise retains it.

In Plin. Epist. vi. 25, Keil retains *accersamus* with Med.

In Quinctilian the word *arcessere* seems to be used in twelve places, and in only one of them (ii. 4, 31) does Halm notice any various form: there A has *accersunt*.

In Tacit., Med. i. has *accerserentur* in Ann. iv. 29, but *arcessebat* in ii. 50; Med. ii. has *accersiri* in Hist. i. 14, *accersit* ib. 38.

This survey does not profess to be exhaustive: but we may see from it at least this much, that there is plenty of MS. authority to support the old grammarians in their assertion of the coexistence of the two forms. What then is the relation between them? To this several different answers have been given, all of them so far from satisfactory that some of our best authorities content themselves with stating the existence of the two forms, without any attempt to explain them (Roby, Madvig, Kennedy, Zumpt, &c.). In the first place the derivation of *arcesso* is far from certain. Is it to be explained as a

frequentative or intensive from *ad-ci-o* (Key, p. 88, Roby, § 625, Kennedy, P. S. G. p. 221), like *lacesso* from *lacio*, *facesso* from *facio*, *capesso* from *capio*? But it does not seem a matter of indifference whether the *i* be an element of the root, or simply a suffix of the present stem. Dr Kennedy recognizes this, in writing '*arcess-* for *acci-ess-*'; but is there any analogy for such a suppression of the radical vowel? *Incesso* does not help us much; for we can hardly separate its etymology from that of *arcesso*. It may be that *arcesso*, as Vaniček (Etym. Wört. p. 30), following the suggestion of Bopp, Comp. Gramm. § 775, holds, is for *ar-ced-e-sso*, and that *incesso* is similarly for *in-ced-e-sso* (Mr Roby accepts the latter derivation, but not the former). Or is it best to compare *arcesso* with forms like *levasso*, assuming that the radical *i* has been, not dropped before *-esso*, but changed into *e* as in *dede-ro* for *dedi-so* (Schleich. Comp.[3] p. 810), the *s* being doubled, as Mr Roby holds, in order to mark the place of the accent, or by a false analogy? Dr Donaldson has probably few followers (except Mr Parry, l.c.) in supposing from the perfect and supine that we have here a compound of *sino* (*arcesso* = *ad-ced-sino* Varron.[3] 303). Schweizer-Sidler (Formenlehre § 199) derives all the *verba meditativa* from abstract substantives in *-ŭs*, but in no case do these seem actually to occur; and it is hard even to imagine a form which would be a satisfactory bridge between *cieo* and *arcesso*. Whichever of these etymologies we adopt for *arcesso*, it does not seem to me that we get a satisfactory explanation of *accerso*. It is true that there are numerous instances of an *r* arising out of a *d* (Corssen I[2]. 238—240), but in no case does the *r* precede an *s*, and the combination *rs* seems to have been avoided as much as possible by assimilation (ib. p. 242). We have instances in abundance of the loss or assimilation of a *d* before *s*: but no parallel (I believe) for its change into *r*. Nor will it do to say, with Mr Papillon on Ter. Andr. 299, 'for the change of one *s* into *r* we may compare the forms *rursus*, *prorsus*, *quorsum* with the Plautine forms *russum*, *prossum*, *quossum*'. For firstly, the true Plautine forms are *rusum*, etc. (Ritschl Proll. Trin. p. civ. Opusc. II. 544; cp. Corssen I[2]. 243 Beitr. 396), and secondly the change of *rs* into *ss* surely does not give

us the faintest reason for supposing the change of *ss* into *rs*: no one can deny that *rursum* (for *reversum*) is older than *russum*; and it would be bold to maintain that *accerso* gave rise to *arcesso*, that is, that a word, in which the preposition retains a form, which if not primitive (Corssen l. c.) is at least archaic, came from one in which it was already assimilated. Others assert that there has been a metathesis (*Umspringen*) of the *r*. Thus Kühner in his last (larger) edition of the Tusc. Disp. writes (on IV. 1, 2), '*Accerso* ex transpositione litterae *r* et geminatione litterae *c* natum est. [Similarly Kritz, ad Sall. Cat. XL. 6.] *Orellius* comparat Toscanorum *frebbe* pro *febre*, *interpetre* pro *interprete*'. But, to say nothing of the fact that both the Tuscan forms seem easier to pronounce than the words of which they are corruptions, it is rarely safe to argue from phenomena in the later developement of the Romance languages to the pronunciation of early Latin (cp. Wagner, Introduction to the Aulularia, p. XXXIV note 2; Ritschl, Proll. Trin. CLV.). Besides, this assumes a priority in date for *arcesso* as compared with *accerso*, which our authorities, notably the Ambrosian in Plautus and the Bembine in Terence, do not allow us to lay down with certainty.

May not the true solution be that the two forms have no connexion with each other? In Ferrar's Comparative Grammar, Vol. I. p. 30, among the illustrations of the operation of Grimm's Law, the Skt. root *karsh* is compared with *accersere*, and with *hearse* and *harrow*[1]. The latter part of this comparison cannot well be right. *Hearse* or *herse*[2] carries us back to the low Latin *hercia*, and this possibly to Varro's *hirpex* [cp. Brachet and Diez, s. v.], while *harrow* is akin to the O. H. German *harke* [cp. Grimm, Wörterb. IV. 2, 478]; it does not seem improbable indeed that *hercia* (considering its identity of meaning) should have been borrowed from the Teutonic word:

[1] The same comparison is given in Dr R. Morris's *Historical Outlines of English Accidence*, p. 21, and as the writer does not quote Mr Ferrar's book among his authorities, both have probably derived it from some common source: but I have not been able to trace it further.

[2] The distinction of the two meanings by a difference of spelling seems to be observed only for the sake of convenience, and to have no philological significance. Indeed it is neglected by our older writers.

but anyhow the *k* is an obstacle to considering the comparison with *karsh* entirely sound. But I do not see why the former part of it should not be allowed to hold good; so that *accerso* would be a compound of a lost simple verb, formed from a primitive root *kars*, retained in Sanskrit as *karsh*, draw, tear, plough[1]. Corssen, it is true, finds the Latin correlative of this root in a very different form (Beitr. p. 403). Following Pott (E. F. I. 229) he derives from it *verrere* for **cversere;* while Curtius, No. 647 b, holds that it appears in Greek in the Homeric substantive τέλσ-ο-ν. Vaniček (Etym. Wörterb. p. 38) adds *rus* (for **crus*) to the list of its derivatives, and Sonne (Ztschr. x. 103) uses the root in the sense of 'plough' to explain κουρίδιος [cp. however Curtius in Studien I *a.* 255]. But it does not follow that because one or more of these etymologies may be sound—and the first two are the only ones which seem to me probable—that therefore the root cannot also appear in Latin in another and a more primitive guise: who would have thought, *à priori*, that the root of *condere* and *conficere* was the same as that of ἔθηκα (Schleicher, Comp.[3] 725, Curtius, Etym. I. p. 79 [E. T.])? Nor need we wonder that the form *-cerso* was preserved only in a compound, when we remember how nearly *-apio* and *-lacio* have shared the same fate, and how completely *-oleo* (grow), *-perio* and *-cello* have perished. If this etymology be admitted, so that we have in *arcesso* and *accerso* a pair of words of totally different origin, but habitually confounded with each other, there is a striking analogy in the case of *permities* and *pernicies*. It was long thought that of the former no satisfactory explanation could be given (cp. Mr Frost's Introduction to the Annals of Tacitus, *ad fin.*, and Dr Wagner's note on Plaut. Aul. 605), and those who gave it a place in the text of Tacitus did so simply from a desire not to tamper with MS. evidence. But recently Schweizer has shown that *permities* is a legitimate derivative from the root *mi-* perire (Monier Williams, Sanskrit Dictionary, p. 780), an explanation which, as Corssen (Beiträge,

[1] The last meaning seems to be derived from the notion of *drawing* a furrow: it is expressed, however, by a different inflexion of the root: *karshati* 'he draws', *kṛshati* 'he ploughs': cp. M. Müller, Sanskrit Grammar, pp. 255, 265, and Fick, Worterb. pp. 217, 1045.

p. 67) justly says, has everything in its favour which can establish an etymology (cp. Munro, Lucr. I[3]. p. 364).

A parallel, much less close but worth noting, is afforded by *mollis*. It hardly admits of doubt that this word was regarded by the Latin poets as a contraction of *mobilis*, and sometimes used accordingly: cp. Lucr. IV. 790, *mollia mobiliter cum alternis bracchia mittunt* (though in some of the parallel passages quoted by Mr Munro it seems to have its more usual force): Verg. Georg. II. 389 *mollia oscilla*, III. 76 *mollia crura;* and especially Cic. de Div. I. 9, 15, *mollipedesque boves*, perhaps = εἰλίποδες βόες, although in Aratus, whom Cicero is here translating, βόες has no epithet. Yet there is not the slightest etymological connexion between *mollis* and *mobilis* (Curt. Etym. I. 406).

A. S. WILKINS.

NOTE ON PLAT. SOPH. 262 D.

Mr Arblaster's substitution of *γράμματα* for *πράγματα* in Plato Soph. 262 D is plausible at first sight, but on further consideration appears less convincing.

1. The antithesis between the letters and significant sounds is false and confusing, whereas the opposition of things to their vocal signs has the ring of true language.

2. In the same passage in which it was shown that some ideas and some letters had communion with each other and some had not, it was also shown, and was made the pivot of the argument, that those were mistaken who denied the combination of "one and many" in concrete reality: p. 251, *οὐκ ἐῶντες ἀγαθὸν λέγειν ἄνθρωπον κ.τ.λ.* Cp. Phileb. 14 D, E.

3. In strictness, no doubt (and hence comes the plausibility of Mr Arblaster's conjecture), this combination should be spoken of as the union of *πρᾶγμα* and *πρᾶξις*,—see below, 262 E, *συνθεὶς πρᾶγμα πράξει δι' ὀνόματος καὶ ῥήματος*. But that Plato's language is not tied to this degree of accuracy is shown by his use of *ὀνόματα* in 261 D to include both nouns and verbs, which are distinguished immediately afterwards as *ὀνόματα* and *ῥήματα*: 262 A. It is probably because this distinction has now been made, that the phrase *τὰ τῆς φωνῆς σημεῖα* is used in the passage under discussion, so as to include both noun and verb in one expression.

4. It follows that *πράγματα* here may mean things or objects (including letters, musical notes, &c.: p. 253 B) as distinguished alike from words and from ideas. Now it is precisely in this sense that *πράγματα* is used in Polit. 278 D (where the illustration of the letters or *στοιχεῖα* again occurs) *μετατιθέμενα*

δ' εἰς τὰς τῶν πραγμάτων μακρὰς καὶ μὴ ῥᾳδίους συλλαβὰς ταὐτὰ ταῦτα πάλιν ἀγνοεῖ;

5. This direct appeal to reality and to the verdict of common sense occurs frequently in these later dialogues even in the midst of dialectical arguments. It is Plato's short method with the unideal, on his losing patience with them, and may also be regarded, in common with several other traits, as an approximation to the manner of Aristotle. Other instances are Soph. 263 (the passage immediately following this), and Phileb. 62 B. See also Theæt. 201 A.

Those who care enough for the Sophistes to read these remarks may be glad to have their attention called to three lines of the Divina Commedia, in which the main doctrine of this dialogue is expressed with admirable succinctness: Paradiso XIII:—

> Chè quegli è tra gli stolti bene abbasso,
> Che senza distinzion afferma o niega,
> Così nell' un, come nell' altro passo.

LEWIS CAMPBELL.

GREEK LEXICOGRAPHY.

[Read before the Cambridge Philological Society, 17 April, 1872.]

We may contribute to Greek lexicography in three ways.

I. By posting up, carrying forward, what has been already collected. Those who are accustomed to study historically, know how seldom this is done; how much material, hidden in older books, is entirely unknown to later writers[1]. In a lexicographer one would suppose such carelessness to be impossible, as his predecessors' labours lie before him in alphabetical order: but we cannot go far without finding a very large amount of matter ready to hand in the older lexicons, which would greatly enrich the new.

II. We may correct the positive errors of standard lexicons.

III. We may procure new materials.

I. Certain lexicons should be treated as standard authorities, which we desire to supplement, and not to quarry in them for material; e.g. in England Stephanus, Liddell and Scott, Sophocles, Ducange's gloss. Gr.; Maltby's Morell; the lexicons to LXX. and N. T., the lexicon of proper names by Pape and Benseler. Of these Ducange deserves to be re-edited; (as do Suicer and Porson's favorite Budé;) we may safely assume of all that they will be in reach of all serious students of Greek. The other lexicons may be freely used as materials, and if any

[1] Several years ago Mr (now Bishop) Goodwin read to the Cambridge Philosophical Society a proof, by Mr R. L. Ellis, of a proposition in spherical trigonometry. All present admired its novelty no less than its ingenuity. Before committing it to the press Mr Goodwin consulted Baron Napier, and found that the new proof was more than 200 years old; the later textbooks had, as usual, been indifferent to the history of the science.

concerted action can be resolved upon, it would be well that some one contributor should make himself responsible for exhausting their supplies. The principal of these are the lexicons of Phavorinus, Scapula with the supplement, Constantine, the glosses of Cyril and Philoxenus[1], Rost-Palm, the second editions of Pape and of Jacobitz-Seiler. Each of these last three contains a large amount of valuable citations not to be found in L. and S. Perhaps even the lexicons of Dunbar and Donnegan should be examined partially, before it is decided that they can add nothing to our knowledge. Again the special lexicons to individual authors must be ransacked; a certain number were used by L. & S., and are named in their original preface. But they omitted many, as the lexicon tacticum of Rigalt, the lexicon graeco-barbarum of Meursius, with the supplements of Critopulus. Many school lexicons to the authors most read have lately appeared in Germany and should be rifled. The most important recent contribution to special lexicography is the exhaustive Aristotelian index of Bonitz. Teubner promises lexicons to each of the dramatists, and that to Sophocles, by Dindorf, has already appeared. A less pretentious and complete, but still valuable, lexicon to Sophocles, by Ebeling, has been lately published by the firm Ebeling[2], which has also issued some parts of a full Homeric lexicon by La Roche and a number of other known scholars; Döderlein's glossary, Sauppe's lexicon to Xenophon, and the admirable indices to Krüger's Xen., Thuc., Arr., are of great service for the grammatical part of lexicography. Every one of these books ought to be carefully compared with our standard lexicons, before we can say that we have carried forward all that already lies before us in plain alphabetical order. We should endeavour to diminish the *ἅπαξ λεγόμενα*, to supply synonyms, references to cognate forms, older examples, and exx. from different authors, to select the most striking passages in which by contrast or construction the force of the word most clearly appears, to investigate etymologies.

II. Our second business is to correct the existing lexicons.

[1] Teubner promises a critical edition of these glossaries 1876.
[2] The publications of this firm have now passed into Teubner's hands.

For this purpose we should invite cooperation from the many corners of the world in which Cambridge scholarship is doing its minute work; private tutors and schoolmasters and undergraduates, who, like Dobree, are accustomed to 'postil' their lexicons, should be informed that there is a central body prepared to receive and digest their contributions. Often too annotated lexicons may be purchased at the sales of scholars' libraries; many such copies probably lurk in our universities and colleges.

III. New materials, i.e. materials not already digested into alphabetical order. These must be procured:

(*a*) By reading authors, esp. the less usual authors, fragments, anecdota, fathers, scholiasts, lexicographers, musicians, mathematicians, tacticians, grammarians, inscriptions, coins.

(*b*) By reading the great collectors as Gataker, Küster, Hemsterhuis, Wesseling, Valckenaer, Ruhnken, Wyttenbach, Hermann, Schäfer, Porson, Elmsley, Blomfield, Dobree, Heindorf, Lobeck, Krüger, Cobet, Madvig; the scholarlike commentators, grammarians, and lexicographers on the N. T., LXX and fathers, as Grotius, Wetstein, Bleek, Lücke, Fritzsche, Meyer, Lightfoot; the collections in illustration of the N. T. grammar and lexicography by Kypke, Krebs, Bos, Elsner, Loesner, Winer.

(*c*) By rausacking the philological journals and programmes which treat often of separate words; also grammars e.g. Westphal, Fischer, Matthiä, Kühner, Krüger, and other ancient or modern treatises on the language, history, philosophy, literature, music, metrology, metres, natural science, mathematics, law, physic, politics, naval and military affairs, archaeology and architecture of the ancients.

Such are some of the materials available for completing our Greek lexicons. I think it worthy of the consideration of the society whether we might not here imitate the London Philological Society and undertake, not a complete Greek or Latin lexicon, but a supplement to both. In Bentley's time Cambridge gave to the world perhaps the largest literary works which have ever appeared from her press, Küster's Suidas and the Lat. lexicon of Rob. Stephanus by Law and Taylor. Many

civilised nations are now forming really national lexicons by the combined labours of many collectors; so Italy, Holland, Germany, England. Why should not we combine in a λειτουργία to the commonwealth of scholars? Even if we went no further than to collect some thousands of new citations, we should do good service, and the work would not be wholly lost; it might be printed at any time, for it could never be complete, and therefore there would be no reason for delay; or if unprinted, it might be deposited in a library, and serve our successors. If the society thinks these suggestions worthy of attention, I would suggest that a set of rules should be drawn out to guide collectors; that all citations should be in full and on paper of one uniform size; and that steps should be taken to ascertain what collections exist in public or private libraries in England.

The following list of books[1] is taken at random from copies that came to hand; it would be easy to enlarge it a hundredfold, but enough is given to shew the abundant resources at the command of Greek lexicographers. Great as the services of Doctors Liddell and Scott have been (and I cheerfully endorse Dindorf's commendation of their lexicon), a little study of bibliography would have enabled them to avoid not a few errors and to fill up many gaps.

G. T. A. Krüger de formula ἀλλ' ἢ et affinium particularum usu. Brunsw. 1834. 4to.

J. H. T. Müller Beiträge zur Terminologie der griechischen Mathematiker. Wiesbaden 1860. 4to.

Rührmund über die Partikeln κέν und ἄν. Potsdam 1863. 4to.

N. A. Weichert de discrimine pronominum αὐτοῦ et αὑτοῦ II. Breslau 1838. 4to.

A. Wellauer additamenta ad Vechneri Hellenolexian. Breslau 1828. 4to.

E. Wentzel über μὴ οὐ mit dem Participium und mit dem Infinitiv. Glogau 1843. 4to.

[1] Considerable additions have been made in 1876, as this paper is passing through the press.

Göttling de soloecismo logico rhetorico grammatico. Jena 1866. 4to.

Köhnhorn *καλοκἀγαθία* ex locis Xenophontis adumbrata. Gymn. Progr. Neisse 1852.

Nesselmann die Algebra der Griechen. Berl. 1842.

Grasberger über *ἀσκωλιάζειν* und *ἀσκωλιασμὸς* *Eos* II 329—333.

H. L. Ahrens *δρῦς* und seine Sippe. Berlin 1866. 8vo.

M. Hoch lexicalische Bemerkungen über den homerischen Sprachgebrauch. Münstereifel 1865. 4to.

H. M. Flemmer auctarium lexici graeci Schneideriani. I—VI (A—K). Hauniae 1830—6.

Bindseil concordantiae Pindari. Berl. 1875. 4to.

Ferd. Peter einige Beiträge zu den griechischen Wörterbüchern mit besonderer Berücksichtigung des Passowschen Werkes. Gymn. Progr. Saarbrücken 1855. 4to.

Fragmentum glossarii veteris graeci ex apographo cod. Barocciani ed. Fr. Oehler. Halle 1849. 4to. Other fragments, published [by the same?] in Bonn programmes 1846—7. 4to.

Etymologie von Obstnamen, verfasst von H. Oberdieck. Bresl. 1866. 4to.

Hainebach die Wurzeln FEΣ und EΣ mit ihren Ableitungen. Giessen 1860. 4to.

G. Dzialas rhetorum antiquorum de figuris doctrina. Pars prior. Breslau 1869. 4to.

Geo. Curtius de adiectivis graecis et lat. L litterae ope formatis. Lips. 1870. 4to.

Jul. Caesar de nonnullis artis metricae apud veteres vocabulis. Marburg 1867. 4to.

—— de versibus asynartetis. ib. 1864. 4to.

Brandstäter de paronymis graecis in *ίτης*. I II Progr. gymn. Gedan. 1852 etc. 4to.

Aken commentatio historica et grammatica de particula *ἄν*. Gustrovii 1854. 4to.

Dr. Fritsch: Nam, enim, etenim, *ἄρα*, *γάρ*. Gymn. Progr. Wetzlar. 1859. pp. 17 4to.

C. Göttling commentatio de *ἄττα* pronomine graeco. Bran. 4to. pp. 8. 1861.

H. Ebert de numeralibus graecis. Spandau 1858. 4to.

J. H. T. Müller Beiträge zur Terminologie der griechischen Mathematiker. Leipzig Teubner. 1860. 8vo. pp. 40.

Vetter specimen lexici in musicos Graecos. St. Afra bei Meissen. 1861. Schulprogr.

Ahlwardt Beitrag zu Schneider's Wörterbuch I II. Oldenburg 1808, Greifswald 1813. 4to.

J. F. Lobeck Beiträge zur Kenntniss des Dialekts des Hippokrates (Philologus vol. 8).

Erotiani vocum Hippocraticarum conlectio. Recens., emend., fragmentaque adiecit Jos. Klein. Leipz. Dyk. 1865.

Gasda Beiträge zu einer sechsten Auflage des Wörterbuchs der gr. Sprache, begründet von Fr. Passow. Oels 1864. 4to.

Seidel de comparativis et superlativis apud poetas graecorum epicos. Brandenburg 1862. 4to.

P. Tzschirner graeca nomina in Ω exeuntia. I. Breslau 1851. 4to.

Schrader etymologica. Stendal 1845. 4to.

Janson de Graeci sermonis vocibus in *ιον* trisyllabis. Gumbinnen 1840. 4to.

W. F. Palmblad supplementa ad lexica Graeca recentiora I—X. Upsala 1845—51. 4to. (already in 1851 the printer Palmblad published *supplem. qu. ad lex. gr.* as an exercise for his degree).

C. E. Finckh, Nachträge und Berichtigungen zu Pape's Handwörterbuch. Heilbronn 1851. 4to.

O. Band de diipoliorum sacro Atheniens. Halle 1873.

Richter de particul. *πρίν* et *πάρος* usu Homerico. Leipz. 1874.

Nicomachi Geraseni introductionis arithmeticae libri II. rec. Ri. Hoche (Teubner 1866) has a complete index of all but the commonest words.

J. U. Fäsi, Berichtigungen und Zusätze zu Passow's griechischem Wörterbuch. I II. Zürich 1834—8. 4to. Part II contains detailed discussions of words and phrases already contained in Passow, e.g. *ἐς χειρῶν νόμον ἀπικέσθαι* (Herodot.) and *ἐν χειρῶν νόμῳ* (Polyb.). Has not been employed by L. and S.

Appendix to Jacobitz and Seiler first ed. Leipz. 1843.

(Specimen).

ἀγχιβλώς (*βλώσκω*) coming near. EM. p. 15, 36. Cf. Lob. paral. p. 274 and on Buttm. Gr. II 12.

αἰσθητῶς 'Plut.' (L. & S.). Mor. p. 953 C. Sext. Empir. adv. math. I 126.

ἄκρος ὅρος and *τὸ ἄκρον* an extreme in proportion. Eutoc. comm. in Archim.; *ἡ ἄκρα* (*εὐθεῖα*) the straight line which is such an extreme Eucl.

Geometrical sense of *ἀναγράφω, ἀνάγω, ἀναλογία, ἀνάλογον.*

ἀνακολουθέω Sext. Emp. math. I 215.

ἀναλόγως with dat. Eucl. opt. 8.

ἀνταναβάλλω Sext. Emp. math. X 130.

Mathem. sense of *ἀντιπάσχω.*

Tausend griechische Wörter, welche in den Wörterbüchern von J. G. Schneider und F. W. Riemer fehlen. Aus griechischen Schriftstellern gesammelt von Friedr. Wilh. Val. Schmidt. Berlin 1817. 4to. (cites e.g. *ἀγρύπνως* Eustath. Erot. 177 = 208, which is wanting in Didot's Stephanus, though the editors used the tract).

I add a few words taken from my own collections. I may add that I possess copies of Schneider's lexicon annotated by Klotz and others, on which I have not here drawn.

ἀβούλευτος Hippol. c. Noët. c. 10 p. 61.

ἁβροκόμος Sibyll. XIV 67.

ἁβροσία schol. Eur. Or. 350.

ἀγαθοὺς τὰ πολέμια Hdt. IX 122. *τ. π. ἀμείνους* Hippocr. de aere 33 = 24.

ἀγγείδιον Eustath. Il. XVIII 352.

ἀγγελομίμητος παρθενίας καὶ ἁγνείας Method. sympos. tit.

ἀγεννητογένης Theodoret. h. e. I 5.

ἁγιοζαχαρίτης Cedren. p. 690[b].

ἁγιοηλίτης (falsa lect. *-οκλίτης*) neue Jahrb. 1870. pp. 748, 821.

ἁγιοθεωδωρίτης Nicet. Chon. 74 1, 77 13, Georg. Pachym. Mich. Palaeol. 71[a].

ἁγιοπρεπῶς Polyc. ep. Philip. 1.

ἅγια ἁγίων of the Eucharist Fabric. cod. apocr. V. T. 566.

ἀγλαοέδραν τὴν λαμπρὰν καθέδραν gloss.
ἀγχονίη i.q. ἀγχόνη Ion. cod. Townl. ad Il. Γ 296 ἀγγελίης ὡς ἀγχονίης θάνατος ὀρθῆς (Cramer MS. *penes me*).
ἄδεια. ποιητική ἄ. poetic licence. Gramm. ap. Herm. de emend. rat. gr. gr. p. 448.
ἀδελφόθεος Thilo acta Thomae notit. x sq. Phot. cod. 112.
ἀδηφάγως schol. Ap. Rh. II 306.
ἀδιαφορωτέρως caten. in Matt. 166 22 (Cramer).
ἀθελής Apollinaris in Mai nova coll. VII (I) 16.
ἀθεμιτοφαγεῖν Eus. praep. VI 10 § 8.
αἰπύνοος βασιλεὺς said of Κρόνος in a hymn to Isis (Ross inscr. gr. II 4 l. 19).
αἱρεσιώτης const. apost. VI 26.
ἀκαθαρτομιξία Arethas in apocal. c. 5 p. 669 ἐκ τῇ ἀκαθάρτῳ μίξει see cod. Barocc. 3 ἐν τῇ ἀκαθαρτομιξίᾳ (Cramer).
ἀκριβόλεκτος Ammon. in cat. act. apost. 368 19 ἐκ τῆς ἔξωθεν ἀκριβολέκτου κυριότητος (Cramer).
ἀλληγόρως poët. in schol. Aesch. P. V. 418.
ἀλόγητος schol. Eur. Or. 1156 *fin.* ἀλόγητον δὲ τὸ καταφρονητόν.
ἀμετάδοτος 'Basil.' Oecum. on Jac. 5 3.
ἀμνησίκακος 'eccl.' Clem. ep. I 2.
ἀμφιπόρφυρος schol. Eur. Or. 1457.
ἀμφοτερίζω to be ambiguous Clem. hom. III 25.
ἀναβιοτή schol. Eur. Or. 1691 p. 347 9.
ἀναδιπλασιάζω 'gramm.' Bachmann's anecd. II 15 l. 2, 5, 8; p. 14 l. 31.
ἀναδιπλασιασμός 'gramm.' ib. II 14 l. 28.
ἀνακαινοποιέω 'eccl.' Test. XII patr. Levi 10, 16, 17.
ἀνακαμπτικός Eust. Il. P 297 ὁ τῶν πνευμάτων ἀ. διαυλισμός.
ἀνάστημα resurrection Test. XII patr. Levi 16.
ἀνδροληψία 'seizure of men.' Conceptio gloss.
ἀνδροπρεπής 'eccl.' Cyr. ap. Suid. σπάδων.
ἀνθρωποποιητός Barn. ep. 2 § 6.
ἀνονήτως schol. Eur. Or. 1502.
ἀνταποτίθημι schol. Ap. Rh. IV 1399 fin.
ἀντενεργέω 'Diosc.' Barn. ep. 2.
ὁ ἀντικείμενος Satan. Clem. ep. I 51 in.
ἀνύπεικτος 'Greg. Nyss. Suid.' Eust. Il. XVIII p. 1154 15. Od.

v p. 1532 17 (Poppo, who has added many other words from Eust.).

ἀπαρτίζω schol. Eur. Or. 352 *ἀπηρτισμένος ἀριθμός* a round number, *e.g.* the thousand ships of the Greek fleet.

ἀπλατομεγέθης schol. Ap. Rh. III 42.

τὸ ἄπλωμα the veil of the temple test. XII patriarch. Benj. 9.

ἀπόκριμα fable Suid. s. v. *Αἴσωπος. λογοποιός.*

ἀπομακτέον Eur. Cyc. 561 according to the certain restoration of Cobet v. l.² 578. *Dele ἀπομυκτέον.*

ἀποσκολοπίζω test. XII patriarch. Levi 4.

ἀποσκορακίσματα Hesych. *ῥάκη.*

ἀρειανισμός Phot. cod. 113.

ἄρκουθος Steph. Byz. s. v. *Δέρβη.*

ἁρμενίζω to sail 'gloss.' test. XII patriarch. Nephth. 6.

ἀρνός nom. 'only in Aesop' (L. & S.) schol. Eur. Or. 812 p. 211 18, 212 1, 15.

ἀρρύπαρος Oecum. on Jac. 3 17.

ἄρχω. *Κιλικίης ἦρξε* became ruler of Hdt. I 107 § 2.

ἄσαρκα σπέρματα Epiphan. haer. LXIV 44 p. 570.

ἀσθενοποιός schol. Ap. Rh. II 203.

ἀστασιάστως Chrys. on Hebr. 4 2.

ἀστρόγληνος a sparrow Boissonade anecd. nova 334.

αὐτὸς betw. art. and reflexive pron. is noticed in L. & S. but not e.g. Aesch. P. V. 762 *πρὸς αὐτὸς αὑτοῦ κενοφρόνων βουλευμάτων.* 921 *ἐπ' αὐτὸς αὑτῷ.*

αὐτὸ τοῦτο 'ob id ipsum' Plat. Xen. in Meyer on Phil. I 6. Moulton's Winer 178.

αὐτοφθαλμέω Bachmann anecd. II 4 l. 29.

ἄφες ἴδω etc. N. T. and Epict. Moulton's Winer 356. In mod. gr. *ἄς* = *ἄφες* with conj. regularly used for imperat. 1 & 3 pers.

ἀφυδραίνω expunge this word. Nauck and Cobet v. l.² 594 read in Eur. Ion 97 *φαιδρυνάμενοι.*

ἀχρηστομάθεια Eus. praep. XIV 2 § 5. 13 § 7. XV 1 § 8. One of many words marked in Heinichen's index as unknown to lexicons.

βάθος. τὰ βάθη of the Gnostics Clem. ep. I 40.

βαθύς. βαθεῖα εἰρήνη Jacobson on Clem. ep. I 2.

βάϊον. βάϊα φοινίκων test. XII patr. Nephth. 5 and N. T.

βαρυβρίμητος Boissonade anecd. nova 377 ver. 175.
βασίλειον kingdom Lightf. on Clem. ep. II 6.
βαστακτέον we must endure schol. Eur. Or. 769.
βιαστικῶς 'Schol. Eur.' Etym. s. v. *βία*.
βιωτικός a layman Bingham I 5 § 5.
βλεφαρικός Cael. Aur. tard. II § 17.
βουλιμιακός Theod. Prisc. II chron. § 16 praeter consuetudinem edacibus, hoc est *βουλιμιακοῖς*.
βραδυσμός schol. Eur. Or. 426, where Dindorf cites Theod. Prodr. Rhod. 133 1.
βραχύπλεθρος Boissonade anecd. nova 376 ver. 153.
βραχὺς τὴν διάνοιαν Joseph. ant. XII 4 § 1 p. 83 21 Bekker (Sophocles has XIII 4 § 1, where the word does not occur).
γαλακτοτροφία schol. Eur. Or. 839.
γαλακτώδης. met. *λόγοις* Eus. h. e. IV 23 § 8.
γαμικός. sibyll. VII 5 *γαμικῆς ποτε κῦμα θαλάσσης* (cf. Hor. *uxorius amnis*).
γειτόνισσα Syntipas 39 19 Eberhard.
γέματος full (*γέμω* with Lat. ending) ibid. 91 18. 101 25. cf. *τρέχατος* (Zeitschr. f. oesterr. Gymn. 1875 341).
γερδιακός 'scapi *κανόνες γερδιακοὶ καὶ χάρτου τόμοι*' gl.
γνωματευτής schol. Il. K 31 cod. Par. 2681 (Cramer).
γοργός active Lightf. on Clem. ep. I 48.
γραμματιστική cf. anecd. Cramer IV 311 5 (Cramer).
γυναικοκράτητος schol. Eur. Or. 743, where also *-τέομαι*.
δακρύρροια schol. Eur. Or. 788.
δακτύληθρον Themist. or. 21 253 a (Steph. and L. & S. *-ρα*).
δαμαστικός schol. Pind. O. XIII 89 fin.
δέ = Germ. *sondern*, after a negation Aesch. P. V. 206, 512, 631, 1075.
ὁ δέ where the same subject has gone before Hdt. VIII 40. IX 6. 52. 108. VII 6. Krüger gr. II 50, 1, 11. Hdt. I 17 § 2 Kr. So *ἡ δέ* IX 110. *ὑμεῖς δέ* IX 60 § 2. VIII 22. cf. IX 111 § 1.
δεῖ it is fated Hdt. IX 109 § 1. IV 79. Kr. ad I 8 § 1.
δεῖ. Lieberkühn über das Demosthenische *οὐδὲ πολλοῦ δεῖ*. Jahn's Jahrb. Suppl. 19 pp. 140—9.
δεκάδυο N. T. Barn. ep. 8 § 3 bis. const. apost. VI 14. VIII 4. Eus. h. e. III 15.

δεκάπρωτοι ann. inst. 1864 97.

δέλτα. Demokritos in Bekker anecd. 781 has the gen. δέλτατος.

δεξιά an army schol. Aesch. Pers. 918. Müller fr. hist. gr. IV 195. (Oberdick in Zeitschr. f. d. oesterr. Gymnasien 1868 879).

δή. H. Heller epist. ad Max. Dunkerum de particulis ἤδη et δή (Philologus VIII 254—308).

διαζώννυμι to undergird a ship App. b. c. V 91.

διακαίω. Plut. placit. philos. III 14. schol. Ap. Rh. III 1192 *τὴν διακεκαυμένην (ζώνην)*.

διακόνισσα const. apost. VIII 19.

διασηκόω 'Suid.' s. v. *βαστάσας*.

διάφαυμα protevangel. Jac. 23 *fin.* Tischendorf in his n. cites *διαφαῦσαι*.

δίγαμος married a second time 'eccl.' Hippol. haer. IX 12 p. 290.

διγνώμων schol. Eur. Or. 633.

διδασκαλικώτατα adv. Clem. Al. paed. III 8.

δίθυρον γραμματεῖον a consular diptych Liban. ep. 941.

δικρώς. Expel this word from Steph. 'leg. cum cod. Bodl. Roe 22 f. 536 *διηρώτα*' (Cramer).

δίκυρτος. Timoth. Gaz. anecd. Cramer IV 264 8 *δίκυρτοί εἰσιν αἱ Βακτριαναὶ κάμηλοι* (Cramer).

δίμοιρος. Add to Steph. schol. Ap. Rh. II 524 *ἐν τῷ διμοίρῳ τῆς παρθένου* when the sun has traversed ⅔ of the sign Virgin. gl. *δίμοιρον bessim.*

**διόσκορον*. In the passage of Dionys. Thr. (Bekker anecd. 783 3) cited by Steph. '*διάκονον* leg. e cod. mus. Brit. 51118 add.' (Cramer).

διπαράλογος Choerob. schol. in Theodos. anecd. Cramer IV 414 10 (Cramer).

διστακτικῶς schol. Eur. Or. 632.

διχόγνωμος ib. 890.

διχόνοια Jos. bell. IV 6 2. Isid. Pelus. ep. I 370.

διψυχέω 'eccl.' Clem. ep. I 23.

διψυχία 'Byz.' Herm. II mand. 9.

δογματογράφος inscr. Lesb. in Hermes VII 408.

δορυτέχνησις Hes. s. v. *ἐργάνη*.

δουκηνάριος Eus. h. e. VII 30 § 8.

δουλεύτρια gloss. Eur. Or. 261 in cod. Monac. 560 (Dind. p. 350).

δοχμιάζω schol. Eur. Or. 140.

δρομαίως ibid. 1416.

δρόσον ἔρωτος στάζουσαν Nicet. Choniat. Andronic. 1.

δυανδρικός corp. inscr. gr. 3979. ann. inst. 1852 156.

δυσανόδευτος Sever. Antioch. in cat. ad S. Joan. ev. cod. Coisl. 23 (ὁ φοῖνιξ) τραχύς ἐστι καὶ ἀνάντης καὶ δυσανόδευτος (Cramer).

δυσμενίς schol. Eur. Or. 38, 316.

δυσμικώτατος Ptolem. geogr. II 3 § 18.

δωδεκακώδων scriptor apocryph. pro pontificis tunica talari hyacinthina. Jacobson on Clem. ep. I 55. This is the reading of some mss. in the protevang. Jac. 8, but Tischendorf's text has τὸν δωδεκακώδωνον.

τὸ δωδεκαπρόφητον Epiphan. de mens. et pond. 4.

ἐγερτί Heraklit. in philosophum. 283.

εἰσμαρτυρέω schol. Eur. Or. 812 p. 212 10.

ἑλενοφόντης ib. 1140.

Ἑλιοῦν 'the Most High' Sanchon. in Eus. praep. I 10 § 14.

ἔμβαχυν anecd. Cramer IV 309 26 ἔτι καὶ τὰ παράλογα σημειοῦσθαι χρή, ὡς τὸ ἔμβαχυν (Cramer).

ἐμμέριμνος schol. Eur. Or. 93 p. 59 2.

ἐμμονθολεύω Cramer anecd. Oxon. III 374. Boissonade anecd. nova 220.

ἐμφιλοχωρέω Athan. de decr. Nic. 26.

ἑνδεκαγράμματος Ath. 455[b]. *Dele* δεκαγρ. Cobet v. l.[2] 221.

ἐνθέσμως Theodoret. h. e. V 9.

ἐννακισχίλιοι DS. XVII 66 p. 597[a].

ἐξάειδον κολλύριον Boissonade anecd. nova 370.

ἐξάμματα τοῦ βορείου πόλου elevations of the N. pole Hipparch. in Ptol. I geogr. 4.

ἐξαπαντλέω Hesych. s. v. ἐξηντ[λ]ηκέναι.

ἐξενιαυτίζω schol. Eur. Or. 1645, where also the act. ἐνιαυτίζω. For τοὺς κατεχομένους ἐπιλύσει read τ. κ. ἐπιλήψει.

ἐξυποστρέφω Socr. h. e. III 17 6.

ἐπαγκυλίζω schol. Eur. Or. 1476.

ἐπανωκλίβανος schol. Theocr. XIV 64.

ἐπεγκρανίς Galen III 673. V 603. Nemes. p. 204 5.

ἐπηρμένως schol. Eur. Or. 809.

ἐπιγάμβρευμα scholl. Eur. Or. 477. cf. ib. 585 p. 163 6 οὐ γὰρ ἐπιγάμβρευεν ἀνδρὶ ἄνδρα.
ἐπιπεμπτέον Alexand. de fig. 1 (Spengel rhet. III 10 18).
ἐπισυλλογίζομαι Theodoret. on Hebr. 4 3.
ἐπιτομικῶς Theon Smyrn. 183.
ἐρωτομωραιοπλοκοσύνθετος Syntip. 40 18 Eberh.
ἐτηρικός Syncell. an. 215 p. 358.
ἐτυμόδρυς schol. Theokr. id. IX 19 (in neue Jahrbb. XCIII 102).
εὐγνώστως schol. Eur. Or. 1393.
εὐοδώτερον πορευθῶσι Julian. ep. 43.
εὐόργητος Clem. Al. str. VII p. 842 4.
εὐπλοέω schol. Hom. Od. ξ 162—4 (cf. Cobet in Mnemosyne 1873 19).
Εὐσταθιανοί Sozom. III 20 4.
εὐχανδής Polemon in Ath. 436[d].
εὐώχημα schol. Eur. Or. 814.
Ἐφεσίς a work of Aischrion cited by Tzetz. on Lykophr. 588.
ἔχθρα. Lys. fr. 261 Sauppe τὴν Ἐμπεδοκλέους ἔχθραν.
ἔχω. ἔχειν ὑποψίην to be suspected Hdt. IX 99 § 2.
ἔλασσον ἔχειν ib. 102 § 1)(πλέον ib. 70 § 1.
Hdt. IX 84 ἔχει δέ τινα φάτιν Διονυσοφάνης θάψαι Μαρδόνιον. cf. VIII 94. V 66 Κλεισθένης λόγον ἔχει τὴν Πυθίην ἀναπεῖσαι. cf. VII 3.
Also φάτις ἔχει τινά. Krüger on Hdt. V 66.
ἐν ἀπορίῃ εἴχοντο Hdt. IX 98 § 1. cf. 37 § 2. VIII 135 § 3. IV 131 § 1.
ἔχειν εἰς to refer to. Hdt. VII 143 § 1. IX 43.
ἔχεσθαι ἔργου only one ex. in L. & S.
πανθάνω a bold candidate for public favour, strong in the analogy of μανθάνω, λανθάνω schol. Eur. Or. 763, 1121.

The following words, or special exx. of them, are wanting in L. and S. but I struck them out of the list on discovering them in Stephanus or Sophocles. ἀβάνανσος and -ναύσως, ἀβροτέρως, ἀγελάς, ἀγέλασμα, ἀγελοτρόφος, ἀγρικός, ἀγρώα, ἀγχιβαφής, ἀδιατράνωτος, ἀδυσώπητος, ἀθλιόπαις, αἴνιξις, ἀκατασόφιστος, ἀκαυχησία, ἀκεραιοσύνη, ἀκρονάρια, ἀλαζόνως, ἀνάφατος, ἀνδροκόμος, ἀνεπίχαρις, ἀντιπαλάομαι, ὁ ἀπείραστος, ἀρειανίζω,

ἅρμα θαλάσσης, *ἀρρίπιστος*, *ἀσκέδαστος*, *ἀφιλοξενέω*, *γαμητικῶς*, *γαμίζομαί τινι* of the bride, *γνωμοδότης*, *γνιοβόρος* lit., *δάειρα* (cited by L. & S. from Lykophron, though used by Aesch. fr. 271 Nauck), *δακτυλιοφόρος*, *δεσέρτωρ*, *διανοθεύω*, *διασαίρω* (lit.), *διαχαρακτηρίζω*, *διάχυμα*, *διμοιριαῖος*, *διπλοκαρδία*, *δοκίς* mathem., *δυσωπέω*, *ἐντετυμωμένως* (*dele* in Steph. the reference to schol. Ap. Rh., and under *ἐντυπάς* read I 264 for I 624), *ἐντετυπωδῶς*.

Ταυροπρόσωπος (*ναῦς*) is not (L. & S.) 'bull-faced, front-de-bœuf,' but 'with the figure head of a bull;' so *κριοπρόσωπος* in the place cited. Under *κυνηγέτις* read *κυνηγέτης* for *κυνηγένης*. Under *παρά* C I 7 for 'schol. Ap. Rh. 158' read Schäfer on schol. Ap. Rh. III 158. So under *μολύνω* the reference should be to Schäfer, not to the scholiast; under *καταιβάτις* to schol. on III 533 (not 553). For *εὐαντέω* read *εὐαντάω*. Under *νόστος* in Od. v 334 read *νόστου*, as it is rightly given s. v. *ἐπιμαίομαι*. Under *ἐπί* B I 1 d read *ἔχει* in Eur. Med. 694 for *ἔχεις*. Under *χηλός* ad fin. *χήλη* should be oxytone. The barbarism *connection* occurs several times, yet under *ἀνάκλασις* the true form *reflexion*. 'At Athens' is given as *Ἀθήνῃσιν*, 'at Thebes' correctly as *Θήβησιν*. Under *ἀπαίρω* and other compounds of *αἴρω* the *α* of the fut. is marked short; see Cobet v. l.[2] 606—7. *ἀπόφονος* '*unnatural* murder;' this interpretation is very doubtful; see Hermann. *ἄρα* 2 fin. for 'Soph. Ant. 268' read 628. *δείλη* for 'Hdt. 7 176' read (as under *ὀψία*) 7 167. *ἐντός* in Xen. Cyrop. I 4 23 is followed by *τοξεύματος*. *θελκτικός* for 'schol. Eur.' read schol. Eur. Or. *θυγατρογόνος* for Nonn. D. '12 74' read 12 47. *κακόθυρσος* 'to explain *δύσθυρσος* Eur. Or. 1492,' where *ἄθυρσοι* is the reading of all mss. and edd. *κάλως* for *ἐξίασι* read *ἐξιᾶσι*. *κατατρέχω* II DCass. LXI 10 is cited (after Stephanus) as an example of the construction with the dative: Cobet v. l.[2] 629 by citing the words *τῶν συνόντων τοῖς δυνάσταις κατατρέχων* has exposed this error. *κλίνω* II 4 for 'Soph. Fr.' read 'Soph. Tr.' *i.e.* Trach. *κούριμον* joined with *κάρα*, not with *σίδηρον* (in Eur. Or. 966) by Elmsley and all later editors. *μεταβάλλω* II 1 fin. the emendation *μεταλαβεῖν* (Cobet v. l.[2] 572) commends itself, and should probably be adopted also in the passage of Plato cited. *μετέρχομαι* IV 2 fin. for 'Eur. Cycl. 820' read Eur. Cycl. 280.

JOHN E. B. MAYOR.

NOTES ON VIRGIL.

By way of welcome to Dr Kennedy's Virgil, which in a small compass contains a vast amount of teaching suitable for students of every age, I have copied out my notes jotted down from time to time on the Bucolics and Georgics. Most of them trace the influence of Virgil on later Latin writers, and may serve as supplements to the collection contributed by W. Ribbeck to his brother's edition. Others illustrate the poet's language; a few deal with some of the 'vulgar errors' in natural history or magic, which, partly under the sanction of so revered a name, remained current in Europe until or after the renaissance. There is pressing need of a *Bochartus rediuiuus*—of a complete account of the mythology as well as the history of plants, animals, minerals in antiquity. Sir G. C. Lewis contemplated such a work and made some contributions to it in *Notes and Queries;* few Englishmen could have brought wider reading to the task.

Dr Kennedy in his preface speaks of the *sortes Vergilianae;* on these see a book now too much neglected, Hofmanni lexicon s.v. *sortes,* Fabricius-Schaffhausen bibliogr. antiq. 610—1, Sir T. Browne vulgar errors v 21 § 21, Greg. Tur. hist. Fr. II 37, Becker-Marquardt röm. Alterth. IV 112, Du Resnel in mém. de l'acad. XIX 287 seq. Fleury hist. eccl. b. XX c. 45 fin. Burckhardt Kultur der Renaissance 528. In that strange book, the life of Lackington the bookseller 53 seq., may be seen the Methodist form of the superstition.

Bucolics.

Translated by Beattie. [The translations which I notice below, are, I think, all collected in the British Poets of Chal-

mers. Most of them, no doubt, are worthless, but it is desirable to have a complete list in order that a selection may be published. Many scholars would welcome such a book critically edited.]

Ecl. I 1 Ambr. hexaëm. III 31 § 4 *quam* patulae fagi.

„ 84 ib. IV 9 § 34 *sed iam cauendum ne nobis in sermone dies quartus occidat.* cadunt *enim* umbrae maiores de montibus, *lumen minuitur, umbra cumulatur.*

II 13 ib. V 22 § 76 *quam dulcis etiam in exiguo* cicadis *gutture cantilena, quarum cantibus medio aestu* arbusta *rumpuntur, eo quod magis canorae meridianis caloribus, quo puriorem aerem id temporis attrahunt spiritu, eo cantus* resonant *clariores.* Cf. Bas. hexaëm. hom. 8 p. 78^{b}.

III 45 Prop. IV = III 9 14 *at Myos exiguum flectit* acanthus *iter.*

„ 64 Catull. LXV 19 *missum sponsi furtiuo munere* malum. Aus. epist. 23 16—17 *et pudibunda suos* malo *commisit amores | uirgo nec erubuit taciturno conscia pomo.* Cf. anth. Pal. VII 406 3.

IV Translated by Beaumont. Cf. Tillemont mém. eccl. IV 331.

IV 46 Symm. laud. in Gratian. 9 *si mihi nunc altius euagari poetico liceret eloquio, totum de nouo* saeculo *Maronis excursum uati similis in tuum nomen exscriberem. dicerem* de caelo rediisse Iustitiam et ultro uberes fetus iam grauidam spondere naturam. *nunc mihi in patentibus campis* sponte seges matura flauesceret, in sentibus uua turgeret, de quernis frondibus rorantia mella sudarent. *quis haec sub te negaret esse credenda, cuius indoles multa iam praestitit et adhuc spes plura promisit? et uere, si fas est praesagio futura conicere, iamdudum* aureum saeculum currerent fusa (*sic*) Parcarum. In the old edd. of Tac. Agr. 1 fin. was the reading *cursaturus tempora.*

IV 58 Theocr. I 3. Hdt. VI 105. anth. Pal. VII 703 2 Θύρσις *ὁ συρίζων* Πανὸς ἴσον δίνακι.

VI translated by Roscommon.

VI 2 Martian. Capella I § 28 Kopp.

„ 15 Ruhnken on Rutil. Lup. II § 7 *cuius* uenae *non sanguine sed* uino sunt repletae.

VII 4 anth. Pal. VI 96 2 Ἀρκάδες *ἀμφότεροι.*

VII 33 Prud. c. Symm. I 111—4 *hic deus e patrio praenobilis Hellesponto* | ...sinum lactis et *haec uotorum* liba quotannis *accipit.*

„ 36 Stat. Th. X 229 *cui* fetura gregem *pecoroso uere nouauit.*

VIII anth. Pal. V 205. Lines 17—61 are translated by Walsh.

„ 35 Hor. s. I 5 101.

„ 80 Zach. Grey on Hudibras II 2 331. *Gent. Mag.* Sept. 1860 380 sq. Bayle dict. s.v. *Cayet* n. C. Hardwick's preface to the very interesting 'lament of Eleanor Cobham' (Communications to Camb. Ant. Soc. I 178—190). Warton-Hazlitt hist. Engl. poetry I 260—2. See an instance of this superstition from the fourteenth century in Fleury XCII 40.

„ 108 Aus. epist. 24 132 credimus? an qui amant, ipsi sibi somnia fingunt?

IX 29 Sir T. Browne vulgar errors III 25.

„ 47 DIONAEI PROCESSIT CAESARIS ASTRVM Aug. doctr. Chr. II § 32 *sidus, quod appellamus Luciferum, honori et nomini Caesaris Romani dicare conati sunt. et fortasse factum esset atque isset in uetustatem, nisi auia eius Venus praeoccupasset hoc nominis praedium.*

„ 54 Browne vulgar errors III 8.

X 50 anth. Pal. VII 406 epitaph on Euphorion.

GEORGICS.

I 9 Aristoph. Cocalus fr. 7.

„ 17—18 Stat. s. I 2 18 *et de* Maenalia *uolucer* Tegeaticus *umbra.*

„ 45 Ambr. cited on 299.

„ 100 Aug. de ordine II § 15 *alii autem pii et boni atque splendido ingenio praediti, qui neque nos deseri a summo Deo possunt in animum inducere et tamen rerum tanta quasi caligine atque commixtione turbati nullum ordinem uident, uolentes sibi nudari abditissimas causas, errores suos saepe etiam carminibus conqueruntur. qui si hoc solum interrogent, cur Itali semper* serenas hiemes orent *et item semper Gaetulia nostra misera sitiat; quis eis facile respondebit?*

I 126 Bentl. Hor. s. II 3 262.

„ 209 Synes. epigr. 1 5—6 (Brunck anal. II 449)

σκέπτεο τείρεα πάντα πρὸς ἄντυγα, τῆς ἔπι Τιτὰν
νύκτα ταλαντεύει καὶ φάος ἐρχομένοις.

„ 299 (cf. 45) Ambr. hexaëm. IV 4 § 19 *impiger* depresso aratro *terram scindit agricola,* nudus arat, nudus serit, *nudus sole feruente tostas aestu in area terit fruges.*

„ 357 Quintil. VIII 3 § 47 *sensu plerique obscene intellegere, nisi caueris, cupiunt...et ex uerbis, quae longissime ab obscenitate absunt, occasionem turpitudinis rapere. siquidem Celsus κακέμφατον apud Vergilium putat:* incipiunt agitata tumescere. *quod si recipias, nihil loqui tutum est.* See Rhein. Mus. III 575.

„ 361—4 Ambr. hexaëm. V 13 § 43 *nec uos praeteribo,* mergi, *quibus ab assiduitate mergendi nomen hoc haesit; quomodo saepe mergentes aurarum signa colligitis et praeuidentes tempestatem futuram propere* medio reuolatis ex aequore *et ad* litorum *tuta cum* clamore *contenditis. quomodo etiam* fulicae *refugientes quam praesenseritis commotionem maris in uado* luditis. *ipsa* ardea, *quae* paludibus *inhaerere consueuit,* notas deserit *sedes imbresque formidans* supra nubes uolat.

„ 363 Prop. IV = III 10 6 *ponat et* in sicco *molliter unda minas.*

„ 378 Ambr. hexaëm. III 1 § 4 *ex omni igitur palude, ubi quasi* ranae ueterem querellam canebant, *congregata est fides.*

II 64 Bentl. Hor. c. II 15 5.

„ 76 77 Symm. laud. Gratiani 6 *uirentibus ramis artifex rusticandi* alienum germen includit, *ut nouella praesegmina coagulo* libri uuidi inolescant.

„ 94 Sen. ep. 83 § 27 (of the sage) *si* temptantur *pedes, lingua non constat: quid est, quare illum existimes in parte sobrium esse, in parte ebrium?*

„ 121 Ambros. hexaëm. V 23 § 77 where he is speaking of the silkworm *ex his* foliis mollia *illa* Seres depectunt uellera, *quae ad usus sibi proprios diuites uindicarunt.*

„ 146 Verg. catal. VI 7 8 *corniger haud aries humilis, sed* maxima taurus | uictima *sacratos sparget honore focos.*

„ 173 Tertull. apol. 10 *Saturnum itaque, si quantum litterae docent, neque Diodorus Graecus aut Thallus neque Cassius*

Seuerus aut Cornelius Nepos neque ullus commentator eiusmodi antiquitatum aliud quam hominem promulgauerunt, si quantum rerum argumenta, nusquam inuenio fideliora quam apud ipsam Italiam, in qua Saturnus post multas expeditiones postque Attica hospitia consedit, exceptus a Iano uel Iane, ut Salii uolunt. mons quem incoluerat Saturnius dictus, ciuitas quam depalauerat Saturnia usque nunc est, tota denique Italia post Oenotriam Saturnia cognominabatur. Cf. id. ad nat. II 12. Schwegler röm. Gesch. I 213 n. 5.

II 212 Philox. gl. glarea *τόπος χέρσος λιθώδης ἄπορος ἐν τῷ β' τῶν γεωργικῶν.* When Löwe gives us his promised edition of the glossaries, we shall learn whether this gloss is due to antiquity or to the renaissance.

„ 220 cf. Ruhnken on Ov. her. II 90.

„ 223 Ambr. hexaëm. I 8 § 28 *etiam nunc palustri uligine terra inhorrere consueuit, nec* patiens *est uomeris, ubi infusus terris umor exundat.*

„ 224 Prop. IV = III 5 5 *nec mihi mille iugis* Campania pinguis *aretur.*

„ 242 gl. cola *ῥωγολόγον* (Rudorff *ῥαγολόγιον*) *ἐργαλεῖον πιεστῆρος ληνοῦ ἐν β' γεωργικῶν.*

„ 250 VFl. VI 174 *quam nec dea lassat* habendo.

„ 284—7 Quintil. VIII 3 § 9 *nullusne ergo etiam frugiferis adhibendus est decor? quis negat? nam et* in ordinem certaque interualla redigam meas arbores. quid illo quincunce speciosius, qui in quamcunque partem spectaueris, rectus est? sed protinus in id quoque prodest, ut terrae sucum aequaliter trahat.

„ 314 Aug. c. Acad. III 11 § 26 *Non enim uideo quomodo refellat Academicus eum qui dicit: 'hoc mihi candidum uideri scio; hoc mihi iucunde olere scio; hoc mihi sapere dulciter scio; hoc mihi esse frigidum scio.' Dic potius, utrum per se* amarae sint oleastri frondes, *quas caper tam pertinaciter appetit. O hominem improbum! nonne est caper ipse modestior? nescio quales pecori sint, mihi tamen* amarae *sunt. quid quaeris amplius? Sed est fortasse aliquis etiam hominum, cui non sint* amarae. *Tendisne in molestiam? num quidnam ego* amaras *esse omnibus dixi? mihi dixi, et hoc non semper affirmo. quid si*

enim alias alia causa nunc dulce quidpiam nunc amarum *in ore sentiatur?*

II 323—345 translated by Crashaw.

„ 325 326 Varr. l. l. V § 67 *Iouis Iuno coniux* et is caelum haec terra, *quae eadem Tellus.* Aug. c. D. IV 10 *tempus igitur colunt, qui Saturnum colunt, et rex deorum Iuppiter insinuatur natus ex tempore. quid enim indignum dicitur, cum* Iuppiter et Iuno *nati dicuntur ex tempore, si* caelum est ille et illa terra, *cum facta sint utique caelum et terra? nam hoc quoque in libris suis habent eorum docti atque sapientes: neque de figmentis poeticis sed de philosophorum libris a Vergilio dictum est* tum pater...descendit, *id est* in gremium telluris aut terrae.

„ 411 Cic. Brut. § 287 *orationes autem...ego* laudare *soleo; imitari neque possim, si uelim, nec uelim fortasse, si possim.*

„ 437 Theophr. h. pl. III 15 § 5. schol. Ap. Rh. II 942. Vib. Seq. p. 28 Oberl. All edd. should cite the prov. (apparently a comic fragment wanting in Meineke) *πύξον ἐς Κύτωρον ἤγαγες* (Eust. Il. I 206 p. 88 3). I have found it in Cerda, but not in Forbiger. VFl. V 106 pallentemque Cytoron. Cf. the comm. on Steph. Byz.

„ 458 seq. translated by Cowley. Ambr. hexaëm. III 9 § 41 *diuerso munere fulcit* agricolas, *quibus Deus,* si bona sua norint, *uniuersa donauit.* V 8 § 23 *beata est,* si bona sua nouerit, *cum ueritate paupertas.*

„ 462 Ambr. hexaëm. III 5 § 23 *bene mari plerumque comparatur ecclesia, quae primo ingredientis populi agmine totis uestibulis* undas uomit. Compare Cicero's complaint Att. II 14 § 2 *basilicam habeo, non uillam, frequentia Formianorum ...sed omitto uulgus: post horam quartam molesti ceteri non sunt.*

„ 466 Stat. Ach. I 307 308 *lactea Massagetae ueluti cum pocula fuscant | sanguine puniceo uel ebur* corrumpitur *ostro.*

„ 506 Paulin. ep. 36 ad Macarium (bibl. max. patr. VI 225[a]) *qui* purpura fulgent, *qui gemmas* (read gemma) bibunt, *toga fulciuntur palmataque pinguntur.*

III 8 Plin. ep. V 8 § 3 *diebus ac noctibus cogito,* si qua me quoque possim tollere humo: *id enim uoto meo sufficit, illud supra uotum* uictorque uirum uolitare per ora.

„ 13 Ov. Pont. IV 8 31 32 *nec tibi* de *Pario statuam, Germanice,* templum | marmore.

„ 21 Quintil. VIII 3 § 8 *sterilem platanum* tonsas*que myrtos quam maritam ulmum et uberes oleas praeoptauerim?* § 10 surgentia in altum cacumina oleae ferro coercebo: *in orbem se formosius fundet et protinus fructum ramis pluribus feret.*

„ 32 Theophr. char. 21 p. 187 Ast.

„ 28 Bentl. Hor. s. I 7 28.

„ 43 Sen. Med. 54 rumpe *iam* segnis moras. Plin. ep. V 10 = 11 § 2 *proinde aut* rumpe *iam* moras.

„ 44 Macar. IV 5 (in paroemiogr. II 166 Leutsch) Ἐπιδαύριος ἵππος καὶ Ἐρετριακὸς κύων· ἐπὶ τῶν ἀξίων ἐπαίνου.

„ 92 Prud. c. Symm. I 96—98 *aduena quos* (deos) *profugus gignens et* equina *libido* | *intulit Italiae. Tuscis namque ille puellis* | *primus adhinniuit simulato numine moechus.*

„ 98 *proelia* Apul. met. II 16 17.

„ 125 Saluian. gub. D. VII p. 154 (Par. 1684) *eorum pecudum, qui* mariti gregum *appellantur.* Aus. idyl. 13 f.

„ 186 208 Aus. lud. VII sap. pr. 9 10 *nouit equus* plausae sonitum ceruicis amare; | *nouit et intrepidus* uerbera lenta pati.

„ 225 Antipater in schol. Ap. Rh. II 89 τὸν ἀλκιμώτατον ἐν τῇ ἀγέλῃ ταῦρον μίσγεσθαι πάσαις ταῖς βουσίν, ἑτέρῳ δὲ μὴ ἐπιτρέπειν, εἰ μή τις ἄλλος θαρρήσας τῇ ἑαυτοῦ δυνάμει ἀντιστῇ αὐτῷ· τότε γὰρ ἦν καταγωνίσηται, οὐκέτι πλησιάζει αὐταῖς.

„ 251 Apul. apol. 57 f. *est quidem Crassus iste summus helluo et omnis fumi non imperitus, sed profecto pro studio bibendi, quo solo censetur, facilius ad eum Alexandriam uini* aura *quam fumi perueniret.*

„ 283 Ov. her. V 136 *quaesiĕrunt.*

„ 328 Ambr. hexaëm. V 22 § 76 *quam dulcis etiam in exiguo* cicadis *gutture cantilena,* quarum cantibus medio aestu arbusta rumpuntur, *eo quod magis canorae meridianis*

caloribus, quo puriorem aerem id temporis attrahunt spiritu, eo cantus resonant clariores.

III 337 ROSCIDA Martian. Capell. I § 14 with Kopp's note.

„ 347 [Quintil.] decl. 3 § 16 *nemo nostrum recusat itinerum laborem nec* iniustum super arma fascem.

„ 372 testamentum Galli cuiusdam ciuis Romani in Bruns fontes iuris ant. Rom.[3] 208 *uolo autem omne instrumentum meum, quod ad uenandum et aucupandum curaui, mecum cremari cum lanceis...retibus plagis...*formidinibus. Sen. de clem. I 12 § 5 *sic feras* lineae et pinnae *clusas continent. easdem a tergo eques talis incessat: temptabunt fugam per ipsa, quae fugerant, proculcabuntque* formidinem. Sen. Oed. 758 of Actaeon *metuit motas zephyris* plumas. Eng. 'blancher.'

„ 405 Theophr. char. 21 p. 185 Ast.

„ 550 Prop. II 1 60 *Phoenicis* Chiron *lumina* Phillyrides.

IV translated by Addison, except the episode of Aristaeus.

„ 19 Ambr. hexaëm. V 21 § 69 *ubi* fugiens riuus per gramina.

„ 116—148 translated by Hamilton.

„ 153—218 quoted by Ioan. Sarisb. pol. VI 21.

„ 158 Ambr. hexaëm. V 21 § 69 *cernas omnes certare de munere,* alias inuigilare quaerendo uictum.

„ 159—161 ibid. *illic ludus alacris iuuentutis, illic* campestre exercitium, *illic curarum remissio. opus ipsum suaue; de floribus, de herbis dulcibus* fundamina *castrorum* prima ponuntur. *quid enim aliud est* fauus, *nisi quaedam castrorum species?*

„ 161—164 ibid. *quis architectus eas docuit hexagonia illa* cellularum *indiscreta laterum aequalitate componere ac tenues* (tenaces?) *inter domorum tecta* ceras suspendere, stipare mella, *et intexta floribus horrea* nectare *quodam* distendere?

„ 165 166 ibid. (*cernas*) *alias sollicitam castris adhibere* custodiam, *alias futuros* explorare imbres et speculari concursus nubium.

„ 179 anth. Pal. VI 239 5 6 *θείης δ' ἐσμοτόκον χορὸν ἄπλετον, εὖ δὲ μελιχροῦ | νέκταρος ἐμπλήσαις κηροπαγεῖς θαλάμας.*

„ 191—196 [Quintil.] decl. 13 § 17 praeuidere tempesta-

tes nec dubio se caelo tradere nec ultra uiciniam nubilo tendere. *iam si leues iniquior aura rapuit, ad dirigendos in destinata cursus modico* lapilli pondere librare pennas. Philes de anim. propr. 578—581.

IV 197 seq. spontaneous generation of bees Ambr. hexaëm. V 21 § 67 *neque inter se ullo* concubitu *miscentur nec libidine* resoluuntur nec partus quatiuntur doloribus *et subito maximum filiorum examen emittunt,* e foliis et herbis ore suo prolem legentes. Aug. gen. ad litt. IX § 18 *Creator ...apibus donauit, ut* sic operentur generationem filiorum, *quemadmodum cerae speciem liquoremque mellis.* Rufin. in symb. apost. 11 col. 350^{b} Migne apes *certe* nescire coniugia nec fetus nixibus edere *omnibus palam est.* Saluian. gub. D. IV p. 73 (Par. 1684) apes, *cum* fundamina fauis ponunt (Verg. ver. 161), *uel cum* e floribus natos legunt, *qua causa uel thymum iam nisi studio et cupiditate mellis, uel flosculos quosdam nisi* futurae sobolis caritate *sectantur?* [Quintil.] decl. 13 § 16 *iam primum futurae laudabilis uitae digna principia;* non illas libido progenerat domitrixque omnium animalium Venus ... *solae omnium* non edunt fetus, sed faciunt. This declamation is full of reminiscences of the fourth Georgic, and deserves to be compared with it in detail.

„ 210 on the queen (or king) bee see Bas. hexaëm. hom. VIII 4.

„ 212—218 Ambr. § 71 *regem suum summa protectione defendunt et* perire pro eo pulchrum putant. incolumi rege nesciunt mutare iudicium, mentem inflectere: amisso fidem *seruandi muneris* derelinquunt *atque* ipsae sua mella diripiunt.

„ 225 Vell. II 123 § 3 of Augustus *mox cum omnem curam fata uincerent,* in sua resolutus initia...*animam caelestem caelo reddidit.* See Ruhnken ad loc. Burm. on VFl. III 380. Barth on Claud. 3 cons. Hon. 109.

„ 237 238 Ambr. hexaëm. V 21 § 69 fin. *habent tamen* spicula *sua et inter mella fundunt* uenenum, *si fuerint* lacessitae, animasque ponunt in uulnere *ardore uindictae.*

„ 281—5 Plut. Cleom. 39 § 2 *μελίττας μὲν βόες, σφῆκας*

δὲ ἵπποι κατασαπέντες ἐξανθοῦσι. Sext. Emp. Pyrrh. hyp. I 14 § 41 περὶ μὲν οὖν τὰς γενέσεις, ὅτι τῶν ζῴων τὰ μὲν χωρὶς μίξεως γίγνεται τὰ δ' ἐκ συμπλοκῆς. καὶ τῶν μὲν χωρὶς μίξεως γιγνομένων τὰ μὲν ἐκ πυρὸς γίγνεται...τὰ δ' ἐκ ζῴων σηπομένων ὡς μέλισσαι ταύρων καὶ σφῆκες ἵππων. Aug. de moribus Manich. 17 § 63 *de* apibus *certe fama est celebrior, quod* de boum cadaueribus oriantur.

IV 428 Arnob. I 10 *pluit mundus aut non pluit: sibimet pluit aut non pluit, et quod forsitan nescias, aut uliginem nimiam siccitatis ardore* decoquit *aut longissimi temporis ariditatem pluuiarum effusionibus temperat.*

„ 453—527 translated by Sheffield.

„ 464—527 translated by Harte.

„ 470 anth. Pal. VII 9 8 of Orpheus καὶ τὸν ἀκήλητον θυμὸν ἔθελξε λύρᾳ.

„ 549 EXCITAT ARAS the recollection of this passage would save many a student from a flat and inadequate rendering of *excito* used metaphorically. Add to White's lexicon Sen. ep. 91 § 13 (of a city) *quae fortasse consumpta est, ut in melius* excitaretur. Curt. IV 3 § 8 *turres in medio* excitatae. VII 6 § 26 *munimenta* excitata. VIII 2 § 24 excitatam *molem subito cernentes.*

AENEID.

A few places in the Aeneid have gained much in perspicuity and force by an improved punctuation.

I 321—324 In 1859 Madvig published in the Danish Journal of Philology a note on this passage, which now appears with some additions in his *kl. philol. Schr.* Leipz. 1875 414—7. With two good mss. he reads *maculoso* and omits the comma after *lyncis,* thus avoiding the absurdity of dressing a huntress in a wild-beast's skin, relieving Virgil (with *quidam* in Priscian) from the illogical alternative *errantem aut prementem,* and bringing together what sense and rhythm require to be joined 'the track of spotted lynx or foaming boar.'

III 389—392

cum tibi sollicito secreti ad fluminis undam
litoreis ingens inuenta sub ilicibus sus
triginta capitum fetus enixa iacebit,
alba, solo recubans, albi circum ubera nati.

Nauck (*Zeitschr. f. Gymn.* XXIX 76) omits the comma after *alba*. For *solo recubans*, taken by itself, is superfluous after *iacebit*, and cannot serve as a third 'sign.' How greatly the rhythm is improved by the change, is evident.

„ 433 434

praeterea siqua est Heleno prudentia, uati
siqua fides, animum si ueris implet Apollo.

By removing the comma after *prudentia* to the end of the line Nauck (ibid. 75) greatly adds to the force of the passage.

IV 416 417

Anna, uides toto properari litore, circum
undique conuenere. uocat iam carbasus auras.

It is true that Gellius several times joins *circum undique*, but Nauck (ibid. cl. X 118 *portis* circum *omnibus instant*) here reads *litore circum*.

V 289 290

circus erat; quo se multis cum milibus heros
consessu medium tulit exstructoque resedit.

Nauck (ibid. 76 cl. Suet. Caes. 34 sessum *transiit*) reads *consessum* supine, and interprets *exstructo* 'auf einer errichteten Erhöhung.' Gossrau had before conjectured *consessum*, citing the reading of some mss. *consessu* in *medium*.

VI 122 123 *quid Thesea, magnum quid memorem Alciden?*

Nauck (ibid. 75) again pushes the comma forward to the end of the line. So also Dr Kennedy, Forbiger, Wagner, but not Haupt.

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